

# DIRECT ACTION

WEB  
FEATURE

A special feature from DirectAction.org

from the DA Archives

## GroundWork 05: Grassroots Dialog

GroundWork was a successor to Direct Action newspaper – for which the novel *Direct Action* was named. In 1989, several former DA collective members joined a San Francisco-based collective publishing Green Letter magazine, loosely affiliated with the pre-Green Party grassroots Greens' movement.

In 1992, as the Greens morphed into an electoral party, we renamed the magazine GroundWork and became an independent grassroots voice. Circulation peaked at 8000 copies, with subscribers in almost every US state and Canadian province as well as across Europe.

Each issue offered general grassroots reporting as well as in-depth coverage of a particular theme. The issues on Nuclear Waste were the most comprehensive report available on this secretive and ever-shifting topic in the 1990s.

- GroundWork Issue 1 (1992) - 500 Years of Resistance
- GroundWork Issue 2 (1992) - Health and Organizing
- GroundWork Issue 3 (1993) - Nuclear Waste - Part I
- GroundWork Issue 4 (1994) - Nuclear Waste - Part II
- GroundWork Issue 5 (1995) - Grassroots Dialog
- GroundWork Issue 6 (1996) - Defending Our Forests
- GroundWork Issue 7 (1998) - Grassroots Overview

Download all seven issues at: [DirectAction.org/groundwork/](http://DirectAction.org/groundwork/)

Photo: 2011 Foreclose the Banks protest in downtown San Francisco, by Luke Hauser.

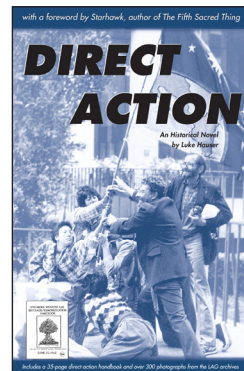


## DIRECT ACTION

Free download at DA.org

*Direct Action: An Historical Novel* by Luke Hauser, is available as a free PDF download at our website — all 768 pages and 300+ pictures!

You can also order a copy of the book for just \$9.95 plus shipping.

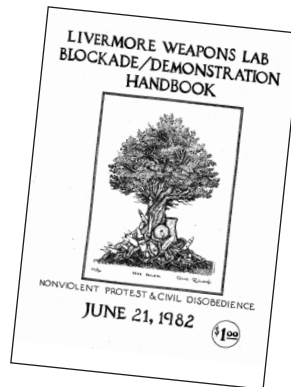


## Handbooks - free online

PDFs of activist handbooks from **Diablo Canyon, Livermore Lab, the Pledge of Resistance, and more**

Handbooks contain site-specific information, plus a wealth of articles and tips for actions at any site. Pages are copyright-free and can be adapted for your organizing.

Visit [www.DirectAction.org/handbook/](http://www.DirectAction.org/handbook/)



Photos and news — direct from the grassroots

# Ground Work

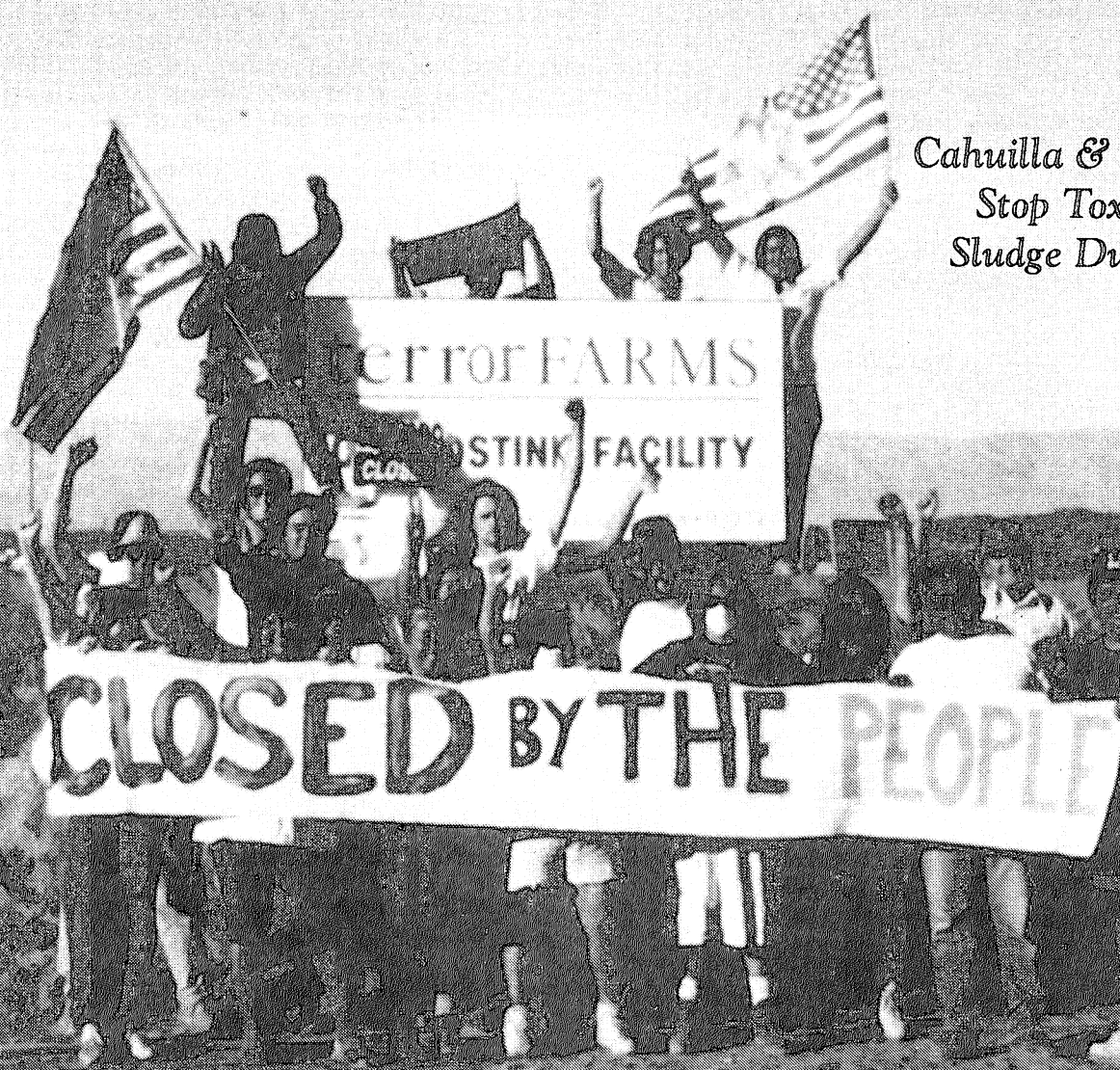
Issue #5

© 1995

grassroots dialogue:

looking backward and moving forward

Cahuilla & Allies  
Stop Toxic  
Sludge Dump



Native American News — Environmental Justice — Social Activism



## Ground Work

GroundWork is a photo-news magazine covering community organizing, direct action, and other grassroots work. GroundWork was formerly called "Green Letter." Our fiscal sponsor is the Tides Foundation, San Francisco.

GroundWork #5 was published in February 1995.

GroundWork welcomes input from our readers. Please send articles, photos, announcements etc as soon as possible — see opposite page for details.

Photos and texts c. 1995. Reprints by nonprofits okay, but please credit author and GW (and print our address!), and do not edit without author's consent.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of GroundWork.

Cover photo by Bradley Angel, Greenpeace

The GroundWork Collective: Margo Adair, Steve Nadel, Tori Woodard & George Franklin

Very special thanks to: aka A.J.S. Turtle, Casey Adair, Ken Nightingale, Diana Scott, Ken Wong, & Patrick Diehl

In addition to writers, artists & photographers, thanks to:

Heidi Lieberman, Brooklyn	Dana Schuerholz, Seattle
Howard Hawkins, Syracuse	Bill Weinberg, New York
Valerie Taliman, Bishop CA	Aurora Bricio, Madrid
Kris Lewis, Mountain View AR	Rick Whaley, Milwaukee
Brian Tokar, Plainfield VT	Sharon Howell, Detroit
C.T. Butler, Portland ME	Carlos Walker
Grace Thorpe, Prague OK	Jon Knapp, Boise
Richard Moore, Albuquerque	Bill Bradley, Portland OR
Roberto Contreras, Albuquerque	Heidi Blackeye, Reno
Nancy Broyles, Santa Barbara	Hugh Esco, Atlanta
Jennifer Viereck, Boulder Creek, CA	

And to our San Francisco-area supporters:

Roger & Don at Abalone Alliance  
Kelly Love & the staff of Tides Foundation  
Livermore Conversion Project

Nu Lambda Fund	Judy Foster	Howard Brotine
Gene Wiens	Bob Thawley	Roddy Erickson
Kathryn Lynn	Robin Kosseff	Graham Hale
Pamela Osgood	Keith McHenry	Steve Leeds
The Funky Nixons	Rosa Alegría	Kristy Lee
Joseph Samudio	Jackie Cabasso	Andy Lichterman
Mark McDonald	Adrienne Price	Carl Anderson
Anna Lisa Couturier	David Glaubman	Jack McDonough

☞ and special thanks to our generous and patient readers!



## Looking Back & Moving Forward: Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Toward the Millennium

GroundWork asks five veteran grassroots organizers to share their challenges, successes, and visions for the coming years

3..... Introduction by Ken Nightingale

6..... Dialogues with:

Grace Thorpe — Prague, Oklahoma

Shea Howell — Detroit, Michigan

Richard Moore — Albuquerque, New Mexico

Jackie Cabasso — Oakland, California

Shafik Abu-Tahir — Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



## Native American News

16-17..... Indigenous News from around the Continent  
by A.J.S. Turtle

## National

18..... Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians Fight Illegal  
Sludge Dump by Bradley Angel

20..... Gay Rights Activists Fight the Right in Georgia,  
Oregon, Idaho by Lynn Hamilton & Alex Robertson Textor

21..... Florida Everglades Organizing Takes to the Streets by  
Bruce Gagnon

22..... New Farmworkers Center Opens in El Paso, Texas

23..... Detroit Summer Trilogy by Tracey Hollins

25..... Greenville Gardens: New Orleans Greens Host Job  
Training Program & other Greens news

26..... Food Not Bombs Plans National Gathering in San  
Francisco Bay Area



27..... Food Not Bombs News from  
Berkeley/Oakland, Philadelphia, Boston,  
Ogden Utah, & Salem Oregon

28..... Stop the War on the Poor —  
Valentines Day Events in 38 States

28..... Web of Life Shuts Military's Project ELF in Wisconsin



28..... Fighting Corporate Logging at Cove Mallard Area of Nez Perce National Forest

29..... Earth First! Takes on Tennessee Nukes by Karen Pickett

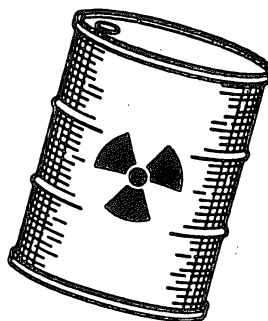
30..... Environmental Racism: Nuclear Waste & Native American Lands by Tori Woodard

33..... Just Lookin' for a Home: An Update on Low Level Nuclear Waste by Tori Woodard

36..... New York Group Targets Autos & Gender Inequality by Karen Overton

36..... Critical Mass Bikes through Boston

42..... Atomic Mirror Pilgrimage: Interfaith Commemoration of 50th Anniversary of Atomic Bomb



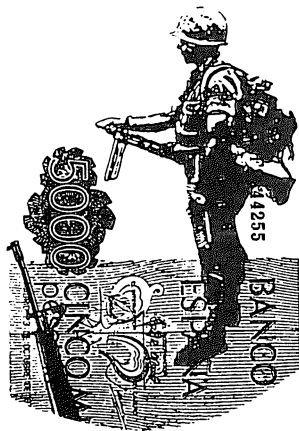
## International

36..... Non-Aligned Nations Challenge Nukes in World Court

37..... "Total Objection" to War Taxes, Militarism in Basque Country by Susan Quinlan

38..... Traditional Innu Fight Hydro Quebec Dam by George Franklin

40..... Second Indigenous Uprising in Ecuador Secures Concessions on Agrarian Reform by Robert Andolina



## Process Page

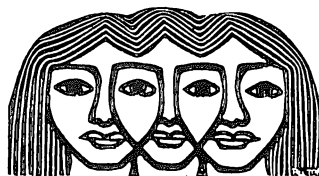
52..... Dynamics of Tokenism — excerpts from a new pamphlet by Margo Adair

## Books, Conferences, Calls to Action & Announcements

42..... Conferences & Calls to Action

44..... Books & Publications

46..... Announcements



**GroundWork Counts on Your Support!**

See back inside cover

## Submitting Articles, Graphics & Photos to GroundWork

GroundWork welcomes reports from readers. You are our connection to the grass-roots in your area. We are particularly interested in accounts of events and actions, and appreciate analytical articles which are tied to specific organizing. We will consider press releases or original accounts of events.

**Groups** — Put us on your mailing list. We look through the dozens of publications we receive, to get ideas for stories. Also, consider getting bulk bundles of GroundWork to resell as a fundraiser for your group — see back inside cover.

**Photographers:** Photos are essential to our vision of GroundWork. We want photos of events, actions, art projects, community organizing and service, and alternative culture. We can return photos after using them, and will consider paying for processing, printing and mailing — please contact us first, at (415) 255-7623.

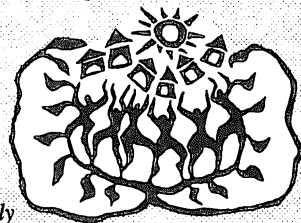
**Artists:** We appreciate receiving graphic work. Please do not send original artwork. High-quality xeroxes or stats are great; or have your work scanned into a Mac format that can be read by Aldus Pagemaker.

**Readers:** Keep us in touch with your area. Show GroundWork to people you know. Ask groups to send us their newsletters. And when you are involved in a project, send us a photo and story!

If you can distribute sample copies at a conference, or to groups and bookstores in your area, let us know — call (415) 255-7623 or see back inside cover.

**And please — Support us financially! We depend on your donations to publish GroundWork.**

graphic from  
Santa Cruz  
Monthly



## Dear readers,

Welcome to GroundWork #5 — our first issue in the shadow of the new Congress.

Actually, other than our back cover artwork, this issue doesn't have a lot to do with the Contract on America.

We believe that the Right, for all its well-funded access to the seats of power, has no solution to the problems besetting this society, and will discredit itself. How can a government bordering on bankruptcy continue to throw away \$250 billion a year on the military and not destroy the country? Yet this is the bipartisan conservative agenda.

We are not naive. We know that the government will cause tremendous suffering. Immigrants, (and anyone who "looks like an immigrant,") single parents and their children, people with disabilities, veterans, and eventually most working people will see their already shaky standard of living deteriorate further. Under current conditions, levels of homelessness, drug abuse, and wasted lives can only rise.

But the solutions to these problems will never be found in the corridors of Congress or the White House.

The solutions — which do not yet exist, and cannot be pre-packaged — will come from the grassroots, from people's day-to-day experience in community organizing and direct action.

GroundWork is dedicated to covering and encouraging the true revolution in American values and political practice that is happening at the grassroots. There will be great changes in the next decade or two, changes that will leave conservative and liberal politicians befuddled.

And as this change happens, GroundWork will be there with the stories — and the photos — direct from the grassroots.

\* \* \*

This issue of GroundWork takes stock of the movements for social change. We interviewed five experienced grassroots organizers from different movements and different areas of the country. They describe their visions of social change, their success stories, the challenges they face, and how they plan to continue achieving their goals in the current right-wing climate.

With this issue we also inaugurate a new Native American News section. A.J.S. Turtle, who has been an organizer and journalist for over two decades, has written a detailed overview of Indigenous news throughout the continent, appearing on pages 16-17.

1994 was a year of growth for GroundWork. Several new people began working with the collective. And issue #4 was distributed to our widest audience yet, with almost 8000 copies sent out.

GroundWork survives because of the loyalty of you, the readers. Your subscriptions, additional donations, and bulk orders have provided almost all of our funding for this issue. And as

always, many of the stories and photos in this issue were submitted by readers, making GroundWork probably the most "participatory" national political magazine available.

GroundWork would not exist without all of this support.

\* \* \*

Nevertheless, as is true of almost every progressive voice in this country right now, we are far short of the sort of funding we need to produce and distribute this magazine on a regular basis. With GW #4, we were never able to send out the sample copies that many readers offered to distribute, for lack of just a few hundred dollars. Given the millions that spineless politicians spent purchasing their elected offices in 1994, this is exasperating.

Irregular publication is better than none at all, but we believe a newsmagazine like GroundWork needs to appear at least three times a year to be an active organizing tool, a resource that people count on to keep them up to date.

We hope to be at this level soon. In the interim, we are considering issuing periodic "Action Bulletins" to supplement the magazine. The bulletins would carry updates and calls to action. Subsequent issues of the magazine would follow up with photos and accounts. Such bulletins — both printed and on the internet — could help bridge the gap as we raise funds to print another issue. We invite feedback on this idea.

But ultimately, we want your help in making GroundWork a regular publication. The news is there. We could have doubled the number of stories in this issue. Only the funding is lacking.

Please give some thought as to how you, and people you know, can help. Subscriptions and renewals, redirected war taxes (again this issue a war tax donation was a major boost to the magazine), bulk orders, a benefit party — GroundWork needs your help. *We count on you to publish this magazine.*

Thanks to everyone who subscribed or donated this past winter, and especially to those of you we talked to on the phone — we really appreciate your support of GroundWork.



## Hits the Internet

Sometime this spring, GroundWork should be available on the internet.

Of course, you'll miss all the great photos, so don't cancel that hardcopy subscription yet.

But we'll be posting the complete text of the magazine, background materials, additional stories which didn't fit in the magazine, and later news items being considered for future issues.

The GroundWork internet files will be your electronic connection to the grassroots. You'll be able to read up-to-date news, and respond to us via e-mail.

If you don't have a computer and modem, most universities and many public libraries now have e-mail access.

Want more info? Send your name and e-mail address to:  
[greenletter@igc.apc.org](mailto:greenletter@igc.apc.org)

# LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:

## Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium



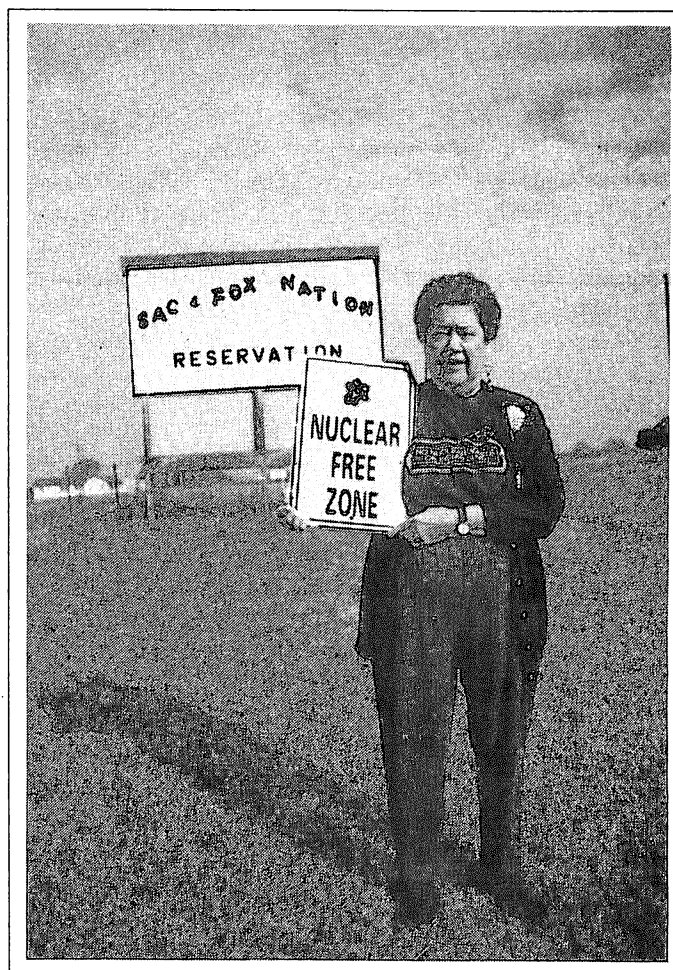
It is a good idea, during any protracted struggle, to stop from time to time and reflect about methods, tactics, means and goals, successes and failures in order to gain a larger perspective and direction for future efforts. Many political changes, national and international, and many troubling questions about the health of the environment, economic justice, racism, and population (to name a few) present us with a compelling forum for dialogue and reflection about our current predicament and strategies for change.

During the past year, the editorial collective of GroundWork invited activists to participate in a series of brainstorming and focused discussions on "the big picture". The intent of the discussions was to promote dialogue about the state of affairs of the larger struggle to realize a more just and sustainable human community. We invited tough questions about harsh realities. We shared our deepest fears and our boldest dreams. We concluded that the most helpful answers to our questions would come from activists who had continued year after year in the daily grind of organizing, meetings, fliers, fundraising, newsletters, etc.

So, a questionnaire was sent to some of those activists whose efforts had most inspired the GroundWork collective over these past difficult years. We decided to break with our regular format of news from the front lines to share some of their answers with our readers. It is impossible to do justice to this topic in so little space and with so few participants. But we hope this will promote more debate and wider participation. We invite your response.

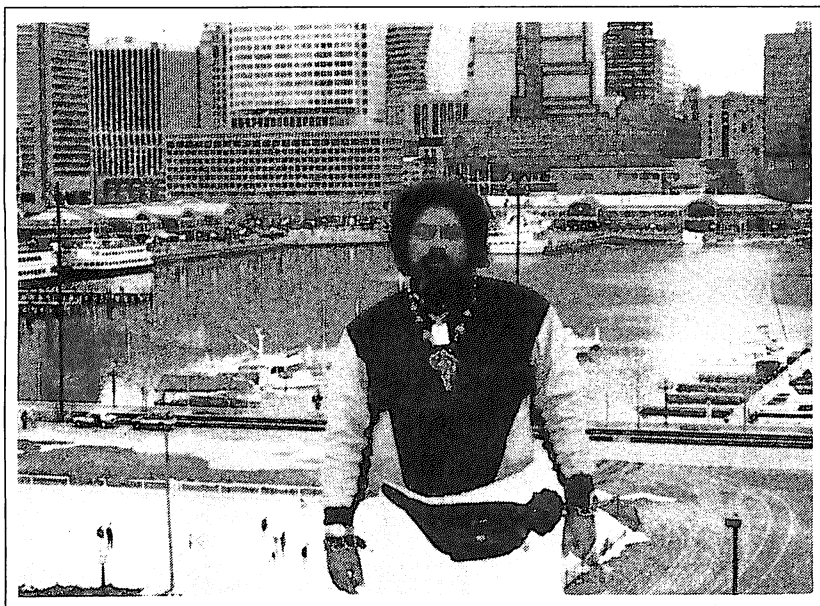
There was no question in our discussions that the society we live in is in deep trouble. With both the Republicans and Democrats trying to outdo each other in the pursuit of jails instead of jobs, bombs instead of schools, orphanages instead of food, profits before environment, there is little hope for a more just society. There was little agreement on the ultimate intentions and designs of the governing and corporate elites or the limits of their power. And there was no clear picture of how quickly things might deteriorate or how soon things might turn around.

But, there was a number of areas of agreement in our discussions. There was general agreement that modern methods of thought control, the monopoly of multi-media conglomerates over the media and the message, are as effective a stranglehold on thought as any that totalitarians have imagined. Freedom of expression becomes meaningless as the means of communication are further out of reach. Activists are demoralized and immobilized by the awesome ability of



Grace Thorpe is a member of the Sac and Fox nation who now lives in Prague, Oklahoma. Grace has been an activist since the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz Island. She is active with NECONA, the National Environmental Coalition of Native Americans, and recently helped to initiate a nuclear free zone movement on tribal lands and reservations.

# LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:



Shafik Abu-Tahir is the founder of New African Voices Alliance and the Future Leaders Summer Retreats. He is recognized by Philadelphia newspapers as one of the city's outstanding leaders. He is the recipient of Pennsylvania State Legislators' Community Organizing Award. He conducts workshops throughout the country on organizing skills. Much of his work is focused on full inclusion for people with disabilities.

the mass media to re-write history, turn a blind eye to dissent, and turn our words upside-down. The combination of short memories and double-speak sound bites makes public debate impossible.

There was also agreement that readers of GroundWork did not need to be reminded of the long litany of troubles on our door step. We agreed that the continuation of the status quo will completely change life as we have known it on this planet. If the production schedules for automobiles, refrigerators, weaponry, etc. are realized; if we are unable to break our addiction to petrochemicals; If the "Third World" takes the same path of destructive "development"; if we continue to destroy habitats, cut down forests, dam rivers, shrink the numbers of plant and animal species, pollute the atmosphere, soils, and waters; if we continue to build prisons rather than schools; if politicians continue to encourage nationalism and nativism, sexism, racism, bigotry and homophobia; if

we continue with life as usual — we are headed for an unnatural catastrophe on a global scale beyond our current comprehension — a catastrophe of fascism, famine, and wasteland.

There was also general agreement that, in the movement at large, we are experiencing a lack of vision. Unlike the literature and speeches of previous social movements that were full of specific dreams and well-articulated visions of promises of a better world, we seem unable to express our hopes and dreams clearly. Even in recent memory, in the 60's, 70's and early 80's, there was much more unanimity of focus and purpose. It is difficult to organize and mobilize without clear vision.

There was a consensus that the voices of Indigenous Peoples need to be heard and that their agenda must be moved from the back burner to the front. The unrelenting appetite of the multinational conglomerates for dwindling natural and hu-

man resources has backed Indigenous Peoples into a tight corner. Their voices and visions are a necessary ingredient in the struggle for a better world not only because they are a part of humanity and have a right to speak but because they offer substance and vision that will illumine the path.

The growth of high technology, communications technology and the "information explosion", has not been accompanied by an explosion of human consciousness — exploding the Western mythology that Development and Enlightenment are linked to the advance of technology. Rather than interactive video games we would be much better served by more interaction between cultures. The entire human species is at a very low stage of political and social development and the "First World" has much more to learn from the "Third World" about sustainable lifestyles than the reverse. All of us must learn to work together better to learn how to walk more softly in the only habitat which we know that is friendly to the human animal.

The one subject on which the GroundWork editorial collective felt it had the perspective and authority to speak is the subject of community building and grass roots strategy. Our efforts over the last decade to record and report the activities of a variety of social movements inform our perspective. Our unique contribution to this discussion is to emphasize that people are more important than ideas. It is our experience that organizations are more successful in the long run if they focus on issues that relate directly to practical health and safety concerns of real people and if these organizations directly engage people in a democratic forum for discussion and action.

There is no substitute for grass roots politics. This is why we sent our questionnaire to activists rather than politicians or experts. Many of the obstacles to our effectiveness stem from our own inability to take seriously our own rhetoric. Sexism, racism and the lack of democracy within our own movements leads to dissolution, burnout and short-lived organizations. If

# Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium

we are going to be successful in the long run we must improve our people skills. Grass roots politics are especially important when the odds are stacked against us. When education is so necessary, when funds are so low, when communication is so difficult, and when the issues are so pressing and depressing, building community is central to overcoming all these odds.

It is instructive to note that the 1980's marked the end of innocence for the human species in a number of respects. We had been given many warnings by environmentalists, historians, social and political critics and activists on many fronts that we were pushing the envelope. Yet, it was not until the 1980's that we, as a species, possessed the instruments that gave us significant measurements and real data on the destructive impact of human behavior on the larger ecosystems of the planet. The communication and information explosion of the 1980's reduced us into the global village and brought with it a new responsibility to share our knowledge and resources on a global scale. Habitat destruction is cumulative. Species decline, deforestation and the effects of pollution are cumulative. Garbage piles up. Many effects are delayed. And because of our limited knowledge there are many surprises. By continuing the status quo we are gambling on unacceptable odds.

The point is this. More than a decade ago there were enough alarm bells ringing to lead any reasonable human being to conclude that we were headed toward a suicidal ecological and social catastrophe. And ten years later our lips are frozen and our limbs are rigid with despair. The chances that our technological genius will safely escort us to a new and better space station or planet are slim to none. We have no choice. We cannot continue, decade after decade without serious consideration of the fact that our actions and language fall far short of the challenge that confronts us.

by Ken Nightingale, for the  
GroundWork Collective



Shea Howell (*at right*) is a community organizer living in Detroit. Shea comes from many generations of coal miners. She co-chairs Detroit Summer, a community organizing project that is intergenerational, multi-class and race [*see page 23*]. She also co-chaired the Michigan Committee for Human Dignity, a statewide coalition which successfully diverted a right wing homophobic initiative drive similar to those in Oregon and Colorado. Shea is the co-director of *Tools for Change*, which conducts alliance building trainings throughout the country.



Jackie Cabasso is the Executive Director of the Western States Legal Foundation [WSLF] in Oakland, California. She has been a full time activist for 10 years and active in the anti-nuclear movement since 1975. For more than ten years, WSLF has provided legal assistance and support to individuals and organizations working to bring an end to nuclear weapons production and to address the environmental problems of weapons design, development, testing and production. Jackie has recently traveled as a networker in Kazakhstan, Russia, Japan, and France.

# LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:

## The Basics : How Do We Organize

**GRACE:** In our particular case in Oklahoma, we appealed to the governor, who doesn't want nuclear waste in the state, until they came out with a statement against it. You try to get the local communities, the local people, the chamber of commerce. We got a local fire department against it, because they didn't want to fight any nuclear fires.

It's very important that activists work with the communities, and with the establishment. In some cases, it may go against their grain to do so. But you aren't going to get any place if you don't. In order to convince someone of something, you al-

most can't look too "different" than they are, and you have to talk pretty much the same language that they talk. Otherwise, you're going to be talking to yourselves and people who agree with you. You have to learn how to feed information to people sitting on the fence, get them your side of the story.

For a while my main interest was in trying to get surplus property for Indians. There was a [government] surplus property up in Fort Lawton, near Seattle. The Indians there were trying to get an art center going, and they were being ignored. They decided to do an occupation. I went up and did that with them. They have a very lovely arts center there, which has survived since then.

for change will tend to come more from people who have been "under the gun," like Native American and African American communities?

**GRACE:** I think everyone is concerned. We all have to work together. There's no one group that's going to be more effective than another. It's like baking a cake, you've got to have a little of everything. We're like those ingredients, we're all necessary.

**SHAFIK:** I knew that I wanted to work with my mother; I wanted to work with my neighbors and the children on my block. I wanted to work with people that I saw everyday. I decided I didn't want to organize the world; I wanted to organize my block. At that point I began literally going door to door with the organization I founded, Committee for Social Responsibility, which later was formed into African American Voices Alliance. We did door to door work about the everyday concerns that people were dealing with. What we were trying to show them was that in order to do something concretely about those concerns, they would have to have power and control over their own lives.

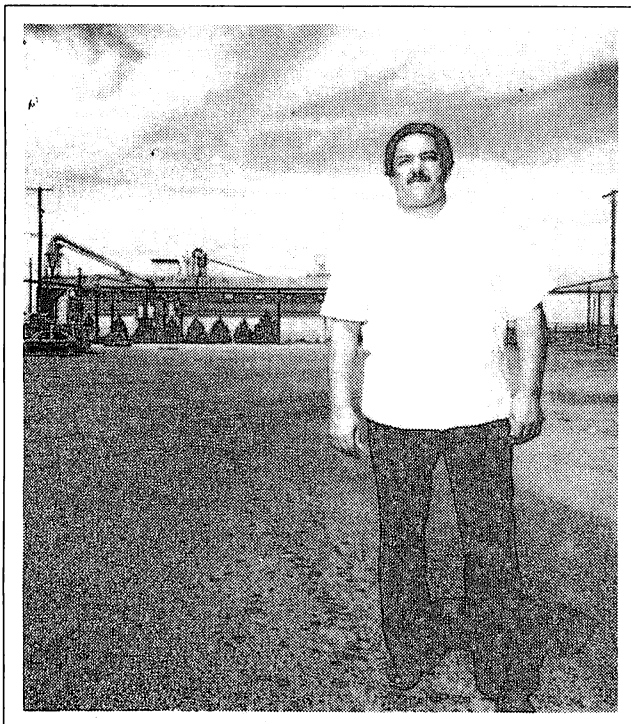
In October of 1983, Grenada was invaded by the United States. At a meeting I met some of the most wonderful people. Those people remain together. Today we call ourselves New African Voices Alliance. We were very, very clear that the big nations would always try to beat up the little nations, exploit them, control them. This group understood that while we were internationalist, we also had to give leadership to our communities where we lived.

We did study groups, political socials where we invited our neighbors and friends to come in around some food, and have collective meetings around concerns, which we still do today. Out of that came the understanding that we need to begin giving leadership and support and guidance to the generation under us, which we still do. We were able to form a national

There was another property near Santa Rosa [California] that was surplus. I went over there and helped them organize a nice little communications center. That whole year (1970-71) I went from one surplus property to another, helping Indians get organized and get these properties. Another site was near the University of California at Davis, which is still a Native American and Chicano University, named D-Q University.

I helped occupy Alcatraz Island [in San Francisco Bay] from December 1969 till March 1970. Alcatraz really brought the attention of the nation and of Congress to Indian problems, like unemployment, jobs, health, education.

*Grace, do you think leadership*



Richard Moore is a co-founder of the SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP). He currently works with the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, which was initiated by SWOP. Richard has been active in community organizing in New Mexico for over 25 years. He presently lives in Albuquerque.

# Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium

youth program, the Future Leaders Summer Retreat, which we still run, to train new generations of teenagers to become future leaders, to teach them how to do that, as well as teach them who rules this country, and how they do that, so it's not mysterious, and so their community organizing is thorough.

**RICHARD:** The Southwest Network is looking at a decentralized movement where no one person can be the spokesperson. Some national groups or media want to impose a leader on us sometimes.

We think that working people and poor people can be part of developing industrial policy, not only being reactive to the emergency situations many of our communities are in, but being proactive in developing regulations and policies that

would prevent much of what is happening to us and to others in the future. They don't understand that; they say, send your one leader over here, because that's the way they would like it to be, it's easier for them.

The US government is used to dealing with national organizations that have national offices in Washington DC. Many of these national organizations are pressing around specific issues, but in fact those are not our priorities, because of the distance between our realities. Our community perspective and their perspective as a Washington DC organization are very different.

At a fundraising level we're trying to de-emphasize the building of massive structures, and to continually emphasize resources going back into local organizations.

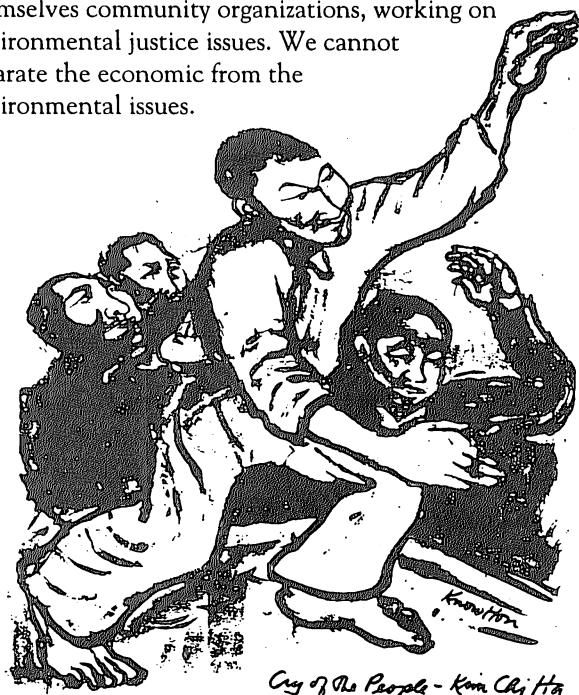
It's important for individuals to think about issues, but in terms of actually doing something about them, it's always been our basis that you need to form organizations. An organization is what really moves, to devise solutions around the issues.

**JACKIE:** At Western States Legal Foundation (WSLF), we believe that community is central to our work and fundamental to building our organization. The community is the base for emotional support. Community is the place where values are shared as norm, rather than as the exception as in society at large.

WSLF began as a part of a very large San Francisco Bay Area peace community. We were able to institutionalize with paid

## Richard Moore : On the Differences between Environmentalism and Environmental Justice

The latter organizations are community groups that work on many issues, such as housing, tenants rights, health care. In many of them the issue is the dump, or the incinerator, or the dog food company, or whatever. But they consider themselves community organizations, working on environmental justice issues. We cannot separate the economic from the environmental issues.



City of the People - Kim Chi Hui

Some workers are being ordered to dump chemicals in the back of the plant, so the groundwater is being contaminated, and they're being poisoned not only in the work place, but also in the community.

We don't believe that everything is about legislation, regulations, or policy. That's just a piece of it. You'll see varied tactics used in the environmental and economic justice arena, such as sit-ins, boycotts, marches and demonstrations. People say those are 1960's tactics. But if you have a pressing issue in your community, and you have tried different solutions that haven't worked, you have to take a more drastic step, which may mean putting your body in front of the plant, to stop the trucks from coming through.

We don't separate things out in little boxes. Environmental racism has to do with hiring, with disproportionate impact, with pesticides and air and water, a whole set of things. As we redefine the word "environmentalism," it has to do with where we live and work and play. You can't separate environmental justice from a child care center, a park, or an attempt to build a prison in the name of economic development.

The more mainstream national environmental groups have allowed these issues to be boxed and separated out. In many of the issues that impact us, they have sided with the states against the interests of rural and working class communities.

## LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:

staff and a core group of volunteers in a way that allowed us to do very focused and productive work. We have worked very hard to develop a rapport within this core group and have developed a mutual understanding over a long period of time involving complex issues. So much so that we are all likely to give the same answer to a given question.

It has been hard at times. We have not been successful enough in fundraising to hire our dedicated volunteers. Changes in political and social realities have led some of them to other work, and as people get older and have families it has been difficult for some to remain active. We enjoy

Our way of doing things is to provide legal support for actions which provide forums for people to participate in, and to defend social movements when they protest government actions. Over the years, we have provided legal assistance to thousands of nonviolent protesters, done legal trainings for people representing themselves in demonstration arrest cases, and provided briefings for people participating in public hearings. We work with our client groups by consensus, and work on a daily basis with both a local network and a national network of peace and environmental groups focusing on the social and environmental impacts of nuclear weap-

ularly important, to keep the principle of nonviolence in the forefront of one's mind: that one must always consider respectfully the perspective of the other. And in general, being lied to the same way time and time again gets depressing.

*Shea, how do you see your organizing style as different from traditional left strategies?*

**SHEA:** It is more fluid, with long term emphasis on building human relationships between people and developing networks of community. Our touchstone has been asking, What do you need to create a community that sustains its elders, young peo-



Community marches against violence and commemorating young victims in Detroit have been part of the Detroit Summer organizing as a step toward reclaiming and revisioning the city. Here, marchers carry a banner with the names of hundreds of Detroit teens who were killed in a single year. Detroit Summer, which has drawn together youth from Detroit and from around the country over the past three summers, has also included housing renovation, creating urban gardens, a tour of different aspects of food production and distribution in the urban area, and workshops and trainings. Detroit Summer 1995 is now being planned. (See page 23, or call 313-832-2904).

working together, and this keeps the volunteers interested.

Ironically I have found a deeper feeling of community through my work in international networking. On my first trip to Kazakhstan in 1990 I found community of values that made me feel for the first time that I was not on the fringe but part of an international global community and a global majority.

ons and associated technologies.

*Where does your work get the hardest?*

**JACKIE:** When we're in a room face to face with weapons designers or high level military officials who are promoting research, production, and testing of nuclear weapons into the next century. At times like that, it's particularly hard, and partic-

ple and the ability to provide life? Our organizing style is based on the necessity that long term organizing must have communities to support it.

From our experience with Detroiters For Dignity, it was clear that the old model of organizing in the workplace rather than in the community was no longer relevant. So much of the organizing that has to take place to make substantial change requires dealing with community issues.

**P** eople are trying to construct local economies, local safety, local health. People are re-creating; no one else will do it, especially in cities. [page 15]

# Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium

Why had people in the group named themselves Detroiters for Dignity? People were concerned not only about the question of sustenance, but also what kind of relationships we have with each other. How do we maintain a sense of our own integrity in the face of the assaults and degradation that larger systems throw our way?

## What is the biggest lesson you have learned?

**JACKIE:** Connect the international work concretely to the US work. For example, four years of groundwork involving trips to Kazakhstan, Russia, Japan, France, the UN in NYC, and Geneva have laid the foundation for a concerted international effort to oppose new US simulated nuclear weapons testing technologies, which threaten to undermine any hope for a meaningful Non-Proliferation Treaty and a Comprehensive Test Ban.

**RICHARD:** One of the primary lessons is to always have faith in the people. We're told there is apathy out there, and obstacles that you can't organize around. I believe apathy comes from the system stepping on people all these years.

Secondly, it's not individuals that make elected officials accountable. It's organizations that have the long-range consistency to force accountability.

What did you learn with the critique of the National Toxics Campaign? Why did it have to fold?

**RICHARD:** It had the potential to build a national, multi-racial organization. I was asked to be a board member of the Campaign, as were many other People of Color. We experimented with building a national, multi-racial organization.

But the element of racism was more deeply entrenched than we expected. People of Color usually had to call the question of racism. Many of the progressive

forces on the board were not stepping forward to challenge racism. People of Color had to step out and say, we are not going to take this bullshit. The same with sexism.

There were many things we learned, and that was a primary purpose in being involved.

## Success stories

**GRACE:** I've seen a lot of change in 25 years. A lot of younger people don't think that everything is all so great, but it is so different than it was 25 years ago.

I can see improvements, as far as Indians are concerned. I'm a health commissioner for the Sac and Fox tribal health clinic, and also a part time district court judge. We didn't even have water on our reservation twenty years ago. Now we have a water plan and a sewage plan, a nice library and a community center. We just got approval from the tribe to use twelve acres and try to get another big health clinic.

And I know there have been improvements in Washington. We are taking over programs that the Bureau of Indian Affairs used to administrate. Those provide jobs and training for our people. We bypass the middleman, and the money goes directly to the tribe.

**SHAFIK:** My greatest success is to keep the vision that we can make major change in the United States if we can convince the exploited and the oppressed to work together to end that exploitation and oppression. I'm still constantly working with people to come together to achieve that vision.

I helped bring together a group of peo-



Patients at the Bobby Garcia Memorial Clinic, Albuquerque. "After years of fighting to change the school system, health care and other racist institutions, some of us decided to create our own facilities. We set up free or low-cost clinics that aimed to satisfy our people and our culture... The value of work and participation in community struggles were emphasized in these "alternative institutions." (from *500 Years of Chicano History* — see page 46 or call 505-247-8832)

ple who have stayed together for over ten years, to work for a fundamentally, radically-changed society. New African Voices Alliance became a village of people who really tie themselves to one another economically and socially and politically, a village of people who understand that we need to collectively raise our children. This is called the Village of Kumbaya.

## LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:

I have won in-court and out-of-court struggles to keep transportation costs down. I have fought to keep fire stations open and in some cases have won. I have fought to keep health clinics stocked with the proper prescriptions that people need. But I think my greatest victory is people. My victory is not causes, but people.

**RICHARD:** We opened up the first health clinic here in Albuquerque. I was

the director of that health facility. We opened up the first community-controlled dental clinic in Albuquerque. We worked on police repression issues, water rights, land rights, unemployment, the siting of municipal sewage facilities, gang-related issues.

In February when I was in Washington, at the National Institute of Environmental Health Scientists conference, 400 environmental justice people were there,

primarily People of Color, out of about a thousand people — incredible numbers, more than I had ever seen at a government agency conference. It shows the concrete work that many people put into having this happen.

A newspaper person asked me, What do you see as the primary success of the past four days? My answer was, The way we have come together, the People of Color, in the environmental justice move-

### The Long Haul : Dealing With Burn Out

**GRACE:** I think if you have even minor successes along the way it keeps you charged up. Stress and burnout happen when you don't have successes, when you feel like you're banging your head against a wall. I worked for years to get my father (the athlete Jim Thorpe) reinstated on the 1912 Olympic books, and to get a Jim Thorpe stamp, which eventually happened in the 1980s. I'm used to always having a goal, like with the surplus land.

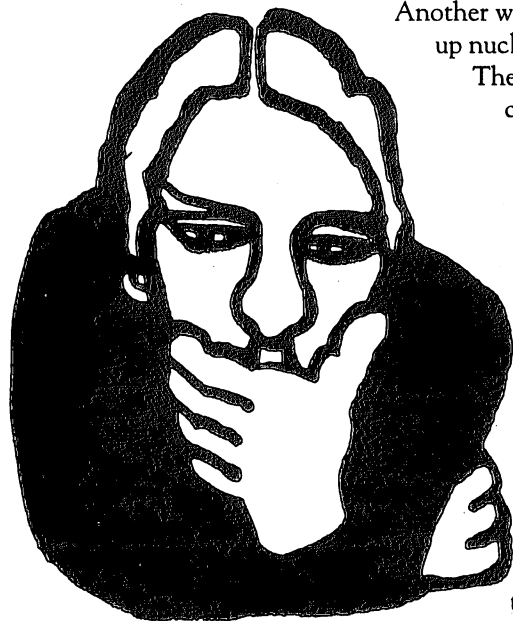
Take for example the nuclear waste issue: 21 places put in for funds to study nuclear waste, and out of them 18 were Indian tribes. Now we have that down to three [see *GroundWork* #3, and update in this issue]. I'll keep at it until they all withdraw, or the issue comes to a head. Along the way, I have successes, like when the Tonkawa tribe in Oklahoma withdrew.

waste. That will take longer than my lifetime. But I do get some successes along the way.

**RICHARD:** Many of the members of the Southwest Network have been poisoned. We have people with Lupus and cancer. These people know that they may not be with you in six months or a year. That's not easy for someone to say or hear.

As far as burnout, we encourage people to take time off. That's easier said than done. We need not only to encourage them to take time off, but to help them create the economic reality for them to take time off.

Our people do a lot of traveling. We encourage them when they go some place to stay for a couple of days. Go to a museum. Half of our people, if they even thought about that, would start feeling guilty, saying, we don't have the time to go to the Smithsonian while we're in Washington, we've got to get home, we have work to do.



Another win I get is setting up nuclear free zones. The Prairie Island community just came in recently, so we have 13 nuclear free zones on Indian land. A year ago we didn't have any. These successes keep me charged up.

Of course the ultimate goal is to stop producing nuclear waste, to shut down the nuclear



# Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium

ment, the respect we have for each other, the trust and communication that we are beginning to develop with each other. Since we plan on being around for a long time, movement building is what success is really about.

Four environmental justice groups have come together to open a Washington DC office to have a presence and lobby Congress. They are the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Southern Organizing Committee, the Asian Pacific Environmental Justice Network, and the Southwest Network.

Clinton's Presidential Executive Order on Environmental Justice did not come from a national environmental group, or the so-called progressive wing of the Democratic party. It came from a paper presented by many of the Networks to Clinton after the election.

*JACKIE:* WSLF played a major role in preventing the homeporting of the Battleship Missouri and its battlegroup in San Francisco Bay. We played a major role in developing a comprehensive Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance for the city of Oakland. Most recently we helped to bring about a national debate and expanded environmental and policy review of the National Ignition Facility laser fusion nuclear weapons research project and other new nuclear weapons programs proposed for the Livermore and Los Alamos labs.

## What challenges do we face?

*SHAFIK:* Trying to convince European Americans that they must work with, not over, not at, People of Color, around our concerns primarily, because we are the most oppressed and exploited people. Every time we have attempted to build an

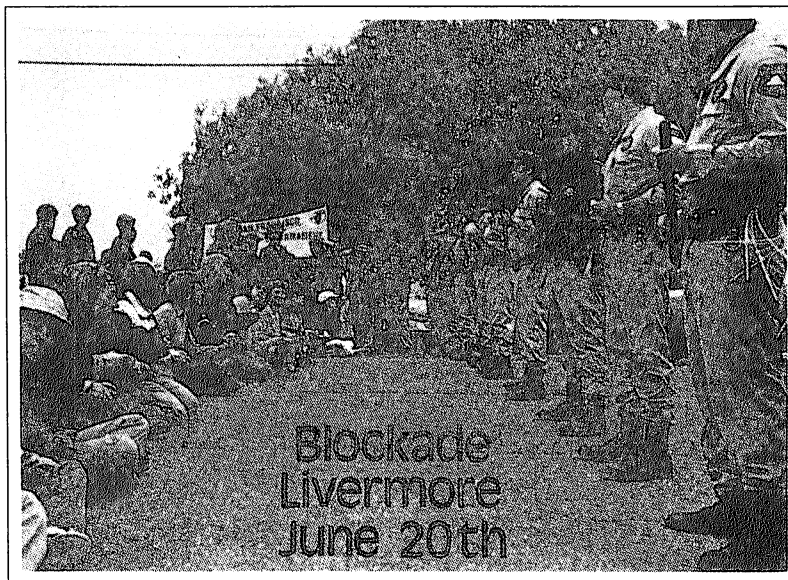
alliance that included European Americans around social justice issues, gradually they disappear, when they realize that they cannot have the power, and cannot run it.

This has not happened in Community Awareness Network. But it happened in Progressive Unity Council that we formed here. It still functions, but it functions at less than half its power because a number of people did not understand.

Another major obstacle is getting people to understand that before we can go on, we need to do some major sum-ups of where we have been, what were our strengths in what we did, and what were

our weaknesses. After that examination, we need to talk not about forming anything, but about what we are up against. Because we are not willing to look at what we are up against, we keep creating things that look like the thing that we have said we rejected.

We keep creating these new organizations, without having a collective sum-up of the organizations we have already had. I have truthfully given up on the European Americans in this country being humble enough to realize that they have to examine past activity and past organizations. I really believe the European American Left



Protesters and police square off at Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab, near San Francisco. In a series of protests from 1982-85, over 3000 people were arrested and jailed for up to two weeks. The protests focused a national spotlight on the secretive weapons labs, previously shrouded in a cloak of "academic research," and revealed the role of Livermore and its sister lab at Los Alamos, New Mexico, in not only designing all U.S. nuclear weapons, but in aggressively lobbying for weapons development. Organizing continues today, by groups such as Livermore Conversion Project (510-832-4347) and Western States Legal Foundation (510-839-5877).

**W**ith the Right in power changes will be shocking for American Indians, low income people and minorities. [page 14]

# LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:

is dominated by opportunism that makes them take advantage of the fact that everything is so weak that they can just form this or form that and step out and declare themselves the new leadership. It's also treachery.

I think this opportunism is due to the fact that the majority of the Left in this

environmental justice. Individuals that you haven't seen or heard of before all of a sudden become "leaders" in your movement. You have people seeking their own personal "economic development," because they are certainly being paid well. It's more difficult for communities to see who their friends are.

## What do you think about the victory of the Right?

*SHEA:* I don't think that Congress was all that favorable to the needs of average working people before the November elections. I hope that people are beginning

**T**he structures of the US. government are the only experience that many people have with the use of the word democracy. We are trying to set up a new democratic situation for day-to-day decisions.

country is white middle class people. They tend to have some degree of privilege that does not sincerely allow them to unite with people who are really oppressed and exploited on a daily basis, people who look for the light at the end of the tunnel and realize it has been put out, due to insufficient funding. White middle class people on the Left can take a vacation to Mexico for any length of time, while others have no alternative but to be out in the streets every day struggling and fighting, people who feel it and suffer it every day. There's a real gap, and an unwillingness on the part of the middle class European American Left to deal with it in any real way.

Also, if you look around the country, you see Ron Daniels running for President. We need to have a convention and ask people, do we want him to represent our interests? Instead he just jumps out and runs. Same thing Jesse Jackson does, or a number of people do, just decide they are going to do something. The lack of collective thinking is a major obstacle to unity of progressive people in this country. People still think they are the answer, and they jump out and say, vote for me and I'll set you free.

*RICHARD:* When you gain as much success as the environmental justice movement has, your issue comes to be institutionalized. For the first time, we see millions of dollars being pumped by the US government into research problems around

Some people you have worked with for several years wind up on the other side, lose sight of which direction they are heading. There is a full-fledged attempt to co-opt this movement, at the industry level and others. Waste Management is dropping hundreds of thousands of dollars, trying to have people think they really care about the communities.

*JACKIE:* The biggest impediment to building social movements is the fragmentation and destruction of pre-existing communities, which always have been the ground for resistance, by the corrosive forces of international corporate capitalism. Corporate capitalism prevents people from organizing into "pre-revolutionary" configurations by ceaselessly destroying and rearranging the physical surround, forcing people to relocate repeatedly to find work, and removing any economic base independent of the market. In the US, in addition, people are unaware of the global implications of their nation's economic and military policies, and are dependent in the short run on an economy and physical infrastructure further distorted by decades of militarism.

Another general impediment to social change is "crackpot realism": too much attention within the progressive community to short-run strategies designed to forge compromises with the irredeemably compromised.

to see that the Democratic party has no solutions. The policies of the Democrats with respect to NAFTA and global trade show that Clinton is at home with the Right. In fact the new Right might have more tensions within it around the globalization of the US economy than the Democrats have.

It is misplaced to think that Congress is the most important battle ground for political organizing. The Right recognizes that. They are active in school boards, city councils, and student governments because they know that that sets the tone for the culture of the country.

*SHAFIK:* In the last 55 years the Democratic party has not in any major way changed the economic deprivation of the African American community. We have had to recognize in the African American Community that economically, academically, and socially we are worse off today statistically than at the end of the civil rights movement.

I think that what we will see in response to the rule of the Republicans and probably a White House victory of the Republicans is just a further increase in the economic terror that has historically been waged against the African American community and other communities that have to sell their labor to survive.

With the Republicans now ruling Congress you will see less of the Democrat carrot and smile and more of the Republi-

# Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium

can stick and snarl. Finally, I think that we will see the true face of what economic terror and depravation will mean. There will be more unemployment, more overseas interventions, more domestic violence in response to frustration and exclusion, and a lessening desire of the people to participate in the US political process.

**RICHARD:** We will see some setbacks. However, we have had over the last

several years many significant victories that have come as result of the work of the environmental economic justice movement. Two examples come to mind: the presidential executive order on environmental economic justice signed by Clinton Feb. 11, 1994 and the establishment of the national environmental justice advisory committee in the Environmental Protection Agency. And many other victories were won through the work of grassroots

environmental justice organizations. We are watching the recent developments in Congress very closely, to see whether the Clinton administration is going to stand firm on its commitment to environmental justice.

The work of many organizations and communities throughout the Southwest and West has not depended on which party is in power at what moment. Our movement continues to become stronger and

## Jackie Cabasso : Neither Clinton nor the Right Wants a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

The negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty are in big trouble. The CTBT has been the most sought after, yet the most elusive, achievable goal of the peace movement since 1963. It became clear to us in 1990 that the struggle for a CTBT was a race against time.

The increased ability of the US to simulate the same data through means other than nuclear testing has gutted the meaning of the CTBT. The US, Russia, France and UK are currently observing a moratorium on underground nuclear testing. But nuclear testing, in essence, is going forward at the US weapons labs under the guise of "Stockpile Stewardship". Laboratory simulation of nuclear tests, which is very difficult to monitor and verify, provides a means for nuclear weapons designers to continue their deadly pursuits, and subvert the primary purpose of a CTBT.

The US is dragging its feet in every way possible and is using the treaty to secure its technological advantage. The US is proposing a very low threshold below which nuclear testing could continue because the US holds the lead in very low threshold nuclear testing technology. There isn't even an agreement on a definition of a nuclear test. China wants to make allowance for peaceful nuclear explosions, and France wants to make allowance for safety tests. Furthermore the US is proposing an amendment that would

allow any country to pull out of the treaty after ten years for no reason whatsoever.

To make matters worse, it is not even clear that Congress would ratify a CTBT if it was negotiated. The line in Washington is that without the promise of laboratory nuclear test simulation they would not be able to get a majority vote in Congress for a CTBT.



In April 1995, at the United Nations in New York, the US will come under intense international scrutiny as the Non-Proliferation Treaty is negotiated. The on-going subversion of the CTBT undermines the proclaimed US goal of non-proliferation by sending a hypocritical message to other countries: "Do as we say, not as we do."

We will soon commemorate the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Now is the moment for leadership, when time is so crucial, opportunity and

rewards so great, and the consequences of lost opportunity so horrible. Yet, the Nuclear Posture Review recently completed by the Clinton Administration reaffirms decades-old US policies including rejection of a "no first use" pledge and projects no arms cuts below START II. And START II has not even been ratified!

Given that the US is the only country to have used nuclear weapons. I am more worried about the next Harry Truman than the next Saddam Hussein.

# LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD:

our commitment to environmental and economic justice continues to be affirmed. We will do whatever is necessary to correct the many injustices that have occurred in our work places and communities, whether that be strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, marches or other nonviolent means to get our issues heard.

**JACKIE:** The recent victory of the Right in Congress will only make things harder. We have already seen some direct consequences. Clinton, in an attempt to pre-empt the Republicans, is asking for a

compels us to completely reevaluate that strategy. We must focus more on building our numbers and developing our grassroots base rather than focusing all of our energy on Washington DC.

## What will it take to turn things around?

**GRACE:** It will take 25 years to turn things around. The wheels of Congress run very slowly. We are now at the top of the peak. It took 25 years to build what we

up principled dialogue with all those who have been fighting for environmental, economic, civil and human rights issues. Overcoming racism, sexism and homophobia has to be in the forefront of these discussions.

## What is your vision of social change?

**RICHARD:** It's how decisions are made. In the Southwest Network decisions are made from the ground up. I'm not making them as a coordinator. That takes

**W**e cannot continue, decade after decade without serious consideration about the fact that our actions and language fall far short of the challenge that confronts us. [page 5]

general increase in the military budget. And in an attempt to pre-empt the Republican agenda to cut government spending and eliminate government bureaucracy, the Clinton administration even investigated the feasibility of dismantling the Department of Energy [DOE], which produces and maintains the nuclear stockpile. In an attempt to salvage itself, the DOE came up with its own proposal to reduce budget by cutting basic research and environmental cleanup. And now the Clinton administration has proposed a \$3-4 billion increase in nuclear weapons design, developing, engineering, testing and production at Livermore, California; Los Alamos, New Mexico; and Sandia Laboratories, and a new tritium production reactor at Savannah River, Georgia.

The influence of the Democratic administration is even more insidious than confronting a Republican majority in Congress. Since the beginning of the Clinton administration the anti-nuclear movement has had more access to administration officials, DOE officials and certain members of Congress. As a result, many organizers have put all their eggs in that basket and are very reluctant to re-evaluate that strategy. The victory of the Right

have. 25 years ago there was no Indian housing, no services. With the Right in power changes will be shocking for American Indians and low income people and minorities. There are so few of us. We have no clout, no numbers. The best we can do is try to establish sustainable businesses to survive.

**SHEA:** We need to look, not so much at tired and worn out ideologies on both sides, but at concrete questions relating to building community and building local and regional economies that are sustainable. We might find among the grassroots more support than we think, so that is very hopeful. Many of those who supported the Right because it offers an easy ideology to explain the economic chaos in their lives are going to be looking for other answers because their economic woes will intensify.

I've given up thinking that there is a final turn around. Change will come as we work day by day every day.

**RICHARD:** It is the belief of the Southwest Network that everything begins from the bottom up whether that is in our community or in workplaces. We believe that now continues to be the time to open

longer sometimes.

The structures of the US government are the only experience that many people have with the use of the word democracy. We are trying to set up a new democratic situation for day-to-day decisions. We think of democracy as a kind of ownership.

Take food issues. With our experience, we could force a breakfast program into a school. But would the community feel ownership over it? What happens when you leave? Would the community continue to challenge the quality of the food they are getting?

The Network will be celebrating it's fifth anniversary this year. People are finally beginning to feel that this organization belongs to them.

**SHAFIK:** The most important need of people in the United States is their comfort. If people get comfortable they'll begin to try to go after their power and their control. If you are hurting, you are going to have a hard time concentrating on what you need to do next. I mean literally physical comfort. That means that they are fed, that they are working a decent amount of hours that gives them a chance to get home to their families. Most of us spend more time at work than with our kids or

# Five Activists Dialogue on Organizing Towards The Millennium

the people we love most, and that makes people uncomfortable.

What will unite the Left is when it recognizes that it is not a Left, but a norm. In fact most of the people who live in our country agree with us but do not unite with us because we have set ourselves off from them as being separate. Those of us who continue to fight for political and social change need to find a way to popularize our thinking, to get it out beyond our small circles and to organize with people where they already are.

We need to sum up the strengths of our powerful movements such as the neighborhood movements, civil rights movements, women's movements, and black power movements and take from them the best lessons, and then work together to incorporate those lessons into rebuilding a new movement for economic and political democracy. Until we sit down together and share our collective thinking and support one another's efforts to defend progressive thinking we remain fragmented and therefore weak.

In the national "collective dialogue" we would think through new ways to reach the masses of people who would support our ideas, who would unite with us in opposing racism, sexism, and all the other barriers to human interconnectedness. This dialogue can launch a new organiza-

tion that has a new approach to bring together all those who oppose the way things are and unite us in building what ought to be.

*Shea, where do you see urban organizing going in particular, as the cities are starved of resources?*

*SHEA:* In Detroit, the city becomes an opportunity for creating another culture, one that's not framed by the dominant culture. The whole character of the city becomes more exciting. We face the results of thirty years where cultural life has not been supported by a productive life. People don't have the ability to make a living inside the boundaries of cities, especially not as in the past.

But people always resist dehumanization and the sense that our lives are irrelevant. Of necessity, people in cities are having to find ways to make a living, and live more safely. That necessity is creating all kinds of wonderful and exciting developments. New forms of organizing, citizen participation, claiming democracy are developing where capital has failed the most.

People are trying to construct local economies, local safety, local health. People are re-creating; no one else will do it, especially in cities.

I'm afraid that things are going to get a lot worse before they get better, that a lot more people will suffer hardship and social degradation before people are mobilized, or that it will take a horrific accident or war. I hope it won't come to that. But it seems that part of human nature is that people do not want to do anything about something until it is in their face. If we continue to educate and build community and take advantage of the opportunity of increased global communication maybe we can avoid unnecessary hardship. People need to take more personal responsibility for action. Everyone needs to make a contribution to move the global community, in the interest of their families and future generations, to a more positive goal.

*JACKIE:* The first step for bringing about fundamental social change is to construct—starting from the bottom, from small groups—social movements which prefigure in their social relations and forms of action the way of life we hope to bring about. This effort also should include an aspect of "refiguration"—selective retention and retrieval of elements from traditional ways of life which will be of value in shaping a sustainable and equitable future.



## Graphix credits for theme pages

pg 3 - courtesy Grace Thorpe  
pg 4 - courtesy Shafik Abu-Tahir  
pg 5 top - Hank Krzciuk  
pg 5 bottom - Greg Hughes/Monitor  
pg 6 - SouthWest Organizing Project  
pg 7 - George Knowlton  
pg 8 - Brian Chambers  
pg 9 - Chicano Communications Center  
pg 10 - Rini Templeton  
pg 11 - Bob Van Scoy  
pg 13 - Carl Hofer  
pg 15 - Rini Templeton

## Some Contact Numbers

Detroit Summer, Detroit MI, 313-832-2904.

Livermore Conversion Project,  
Oakland CA, 510-832-4347.

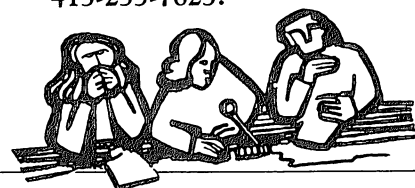
National Environmental Coalition of  
Native Americans (NECONA),  
Prague OK, 405-567-4297.

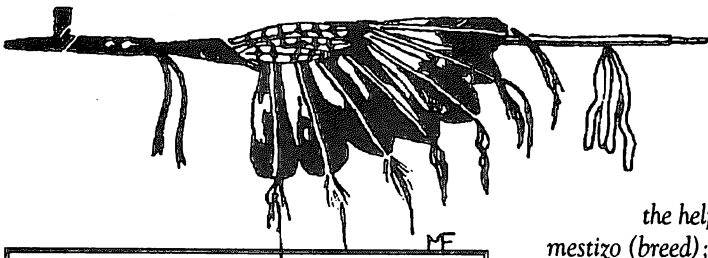
Southwest Network for  
Environmental & Economic  
Justice, Albuquerque NM, 505-  
242-0416.

SouthWest Organizing Project,  
Albuquerque NM, 505-247-  
8832.

Western States Legal Foundation,  
Oakland CA, 510-839-5877.

For more information on organizing in  
Philadelphia, call GroundWork,  
415-255-7623.





Indigenous Environmental Network  
P.O. Box 485  
Bemidjii, MN. 56601-0485  
(218) 751-4967, Fax (218) 751-0561

Mole Lake Sokaogon Chippewa  
Community Nii Win  
Rt.1 Box 625, Crandon, Wisconsin, 54520  
(715) 478-2604, Fax (715) 478-5275

Rex Tilousi. Havasupai Tribal Council,  
PPO Box 10, Supai, AZ. 86435  
(602) 448-2731, Fax (602) 448-2551

Midwest Treaty Network  
731 State St.  
Madison, Wisconsin, 53703  
(608) 249-2390, Fax (608) 246-2256

Western Shoshone Defense Fund  
P.O. Box 211106  
Crescent City, Nevada, 89821  
(702) 468-0230, Fax (702) 468-0237

Citizen Alert Native American Program  
P.O. Box 5339  
Reno, Nevada, 89513  
(702) 827-5511, Fax (702) 827-4299

Indigenous Peoples Alliance  
PO Box 24009  
Phoenix, Azatlan, 85074  
(602) 254-5230

DINE' C.A.R.E.  
Tsaile/Wheatfields Group  
PO Box 121  
Tsaile, Arizona 86556

DINE' C.A.R.E.  
10A Town Plaza, Ste.138  
Durango, Colorado, 81301  
(303) 259-0199, Fax (303) 259-3413

Association of American Indians  
PO Box 1113,  
Santa Maria, California, 93456  
(805) 349-0890

A.J.S. Turtle is the pen name of a mixed blood thrice tribally-enrolled urban town-dog mongrel baby-boomer. He survives with the help of his compa, another mestizo (breed); they reside asbestheycan in an ethnic district of a large left coast city.

The purpose of these pages are to educate each other of indigenous land-based communities in their efforts to maintain for their children a nuclear free and environmentally sound future. A primary principle of interaction with these communities is our intention to be inclusive; that is, to continue to put out more information of their situations, including the responsibility to provide direct introductions of tribal peoples themselves for direct support from our readership.

The last two decades to quarter of a century have seen an amazing growth in the perceptions of and by (AmerInd) Native Americans (Indians) Indigenous Peoples, Tribal Communities, American Indians, Skins, Aboriginal Peoples, or rather Original Peoples of this Biosphere and/or Hemisphere. Not being especially qualified to comment on phenomenon of this scope, I would humbly like to tackle just a few months back.

This past year or fifteen months?

As a result of many years of work by the Hopi (ancient villages of Mishongnovi, Shungopavi, Oraibi, Hotevilla, and Lower Moenkopi) and Haudonasonee (Six Nations) peoples and others, Delegations of MicMac & Huechol, Lakota & Zapoteca, Mohawk & Seneca, addressed the United Nations in a special Cry of the Spirit conference, culminating the "Year of Indigenous Peoples" (1993 — year of the centennial since the U.S. invasion of the Hawaii), and allegedly kicking off a decade of activity in exploring the questions of indigenous peoples around the earth. The United Nations Special Rapporteur has been taking oral testimony from many tribal regions for study on treaties and agreements with indigenous peoples.

At the World's Parliament of Religions, Spiritual Leaders of Native Nations took steps to challenge the Papal Bull of

1493, the "treaty" of Tortadilla, (doctrine of Terra Nulius). A Declaration of Vision stated, "We call upon the People of conscience in the many other organized religions whose historical actions have participated in the dehumanization of our Indigenous Nations, to help us put an end to the violation of our People's human rights."

In Mexico, the campesinos of Chiapas (where Friar Las Casas was bishop) focus world attention on trade issues (NAFTA) while pointing out fundamental flaws in the relationships of tribal peoples with government, commerce, industry, and other fundamental institutions of society. With sweeping, clear communiqués, they stated, "No longer will we live on bended knees," and to Clinton, "We are tired of so many years of deception and death!"

At the aptly named White House an offering of the sacred pipe by 545 "recognized" tribal leaders has been greeted by a "welcome home!"

A group of people of all races led by Native Americans walked across the United States on behalf of Leonard Peltier; retired FBI agents spent several thousand dollars paying for editorial space to repeat lies which contradict federal court testimony. Ominous reports of Anna Mae's case. Internet threats, misinformation in cyberspace. Indian lives in danger.

In the Great Lakes region, Federal Judge declares anti-treaty organizations are "racially motivated" and violate [Indian's] civil and constitutional rights. Prairie Island Mdewakanton Dakota Band resist encroachment of state (Minnesota) / corporate cabal for storage of radioactive spent fuel rods, and the Mole Lake Sokaogon Chippewa, Forest Potawatomi, Stockbridge-Munsee & Menominee with hundreds of delegates of all tribes and races marched on Exxon Coal & Minerals and Rio Algon, Ltd proposed mine site which threatens the watershed of northern Wisconsin, especially Rice Lake and the Wolf River. WhiteBuffaloCalf born in captivity.

Mescalero Apache and Skull Valley Goshute have accepted money in "credible and formal discussions" with the U.S. Nuclear Waste Negotiator, while Sac&Fox Nation of Indians of Oklahoma

have declared their reservation a Nuclear Free Zone.

A Shoshone elder addressed the British Parliament, and the Western Shoshone National Council (the most heavily bombed land on earth) traveled to Geneva to address the UN Conference on Disarmament. Back home a massive new gold mine is presented to the Nevada public as a pipeline project as Clifford Dann is released from prison on the condition that he does not return to the place he was protecting.

Livestock confiscation, harassment and arrests continue in Dine' (Navaho) country in the Big Mountain area, while investigations into Dine'CARE environmental activist Leroy

Jackson's assassination remain unsettling and unresolved. At Chuska mountain, the Tsailé-Wheatfields community continues to question and challenge the BIA over Tohnitsa timber sales. The Red Valley people continue to work on behalf of the Uranium Radiation Victims Committee. Dzilh-Naa-O-Dith-Hle Chapter at Dzilh-Naa-O-Dith-Hle Mountain, sacred place, has intervened to prevent an asbestos dumpsite project of the University of New Mexico after the Navaho Nation paid the company not to establish the dump site. Dine'Care continues to challenge the U.S. Army Space and Strategic Command from launching missiles over reservation areas.

At Lyle Point in Washington State, members of local tribes relit their sacred fire and conducted ceremony and prayer as they have done for thousands of years as county and state officials with guns protect the interests of developer of wind surfer condos, barricade the site, arrest visitors and ignore the vandalism and destruction of sweat lodges, teepees, and other ceremonial structures.

University of Arizona & the Vatican continue desecration of Mt. Graham, sacred place of the San Carlos Apache.

She never touched the weapon and her brother won his acquittal on a plea of self defense but Karuk prisoner Norma Jean Croy is denied parole for one year,

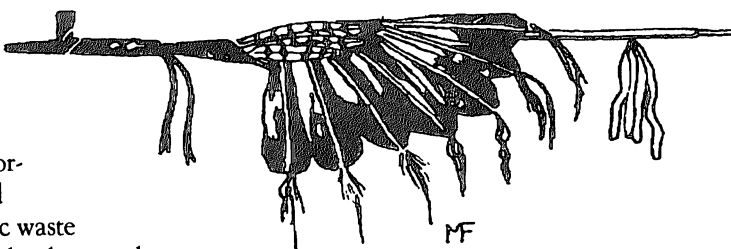
despite 3,300 signatures on petitions, 136 letters, and two job offers. Southern California Cahuillas initiated blockades against toxic waste disposal on their homelands several times (one blockade of nearly three weeks) culminating in bringing matters to federal court, but media's big story about Indians was about gambling. Grotesque cartoon caricatures of Native Americans continue to be used by schools and commercial enterprises. California State University @ Long Beach proposes plans to build a

mini-mall and high-density housing at Puvungna, the birthplace of native

prophet Chinigchinich. The Muwekma Ohlone People, as direct descendants of those forcibly removed, reclaim the area known as the Presidio in San Francisco as officials of the transition team pledge land to a Russian think tank — a revenue gambit disguised as a peace center.

Northern tribes of Canada continue to be undermined by so-called constitutional process. Indigenous peoples say they would secede from Quebec if Quebec seceded from Canada while the great white whale James Bay hydroelectric project again declares bankruptcy (e.g. insolvency) to the approval of the Cree, while in Saskatchewan at Waldstrom Lake and Rabbitt Lake and Collins Bay and other places the half life of radiation contamination multiplies as uranium mining continues to contaminate their land.

Dene, meanwhile, are concerned that diamond mines will invade their ecosphere as a result of recent incursions by corporations and government. In British Columbia an aluminum company (Alcan) hydroelectric project threatens Kemano, Nechako and Fraser River salmon habitat, not to mention sacred places, violates both international Salmon and Biodiversity Treaties, the natives are boycotting the



## Native American News

*edited by A.J.S. Turtle*

LIL'WAT Nation  
(604) 894-6640, Fax (604) 894-6095

Nechako Environmental Coalition  
POBox 805, Stn.A  
Prince George, BC, V2L 4T3

Carrier Sekani Tribal Council  
1460 Sixth Avenue  
Prince George, BC, V2L 3N2

Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians  
66-725 Martinez Road  
Thermal, California, 92274  
(619) 397-0300, Fax (619) 397-0032

El Pueblo para Aire y Agua Limpio  
POBox 387,  
Kettleman City, 93239  
(209) 386-5121

Cahuilla Band of Indians  
POBox 391760  
Anza, California, 92539-1760  
(909) 763-5549, Fax(909) 763-2808

Sacred Run Foundation  
POBox 315  
Newport, Kentucky, 41071  
(606) 581-9456, Fax (606) 581-9458

Support for Native Sovereignty  
POBox 2104  
Seattle, Washington, 98111  
(206) 545-9380, (206) 525-5089

Lyle Point Support Group  
POBox 536,  
Lyle, Washington 98653  
(509) 365-5177

Leonard Peltier Defense Committee  
POBox 583,  
Lawrence, Kansas, 66044  
(913) 842-5774, Fax (913) 842-5796

*continued on page 49*



# Sovereignty and Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla

by Bradley Angel

On the morning of October 17, the Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians began what became a historic and remarkable fifteen-day blockade of sewage sludge facilities operating illegally on their reservation in the southern California desert.

The blockade, led by Torres Martinez Tribal Chairwoman Mary Belardo and backed by many Indian and non-Indian supporters, succeeded in completely shutting down the sludge facilities that were poisoning the people and environment of the reservation and nearby communities.

Following a traditional Cahuilla blessing by elder Catherine Sobel, tribal members and supporters erected barricades

of railroad ties, chain link fencing, and barrels across the entrances to the sludge facilities. Tribal members vowed to defend the barricades around the clock and prevent any more sludge dumping on their land. A large banner declaring "Closed by the People" was placed across the main entrance.

County sheriffs threatened on several occasions to remove the blockaders, even though the county had no jurisdiction to

interfere with a peaceful protest on Indian land. Tribal members and supporters responded by vowing not to be moved.

Chairwoman Mary Belardo declared everyone's resolve not to be moved, and also asserted the tribe's sovereign right to take direct action to shut these illegal facilities and to protect the



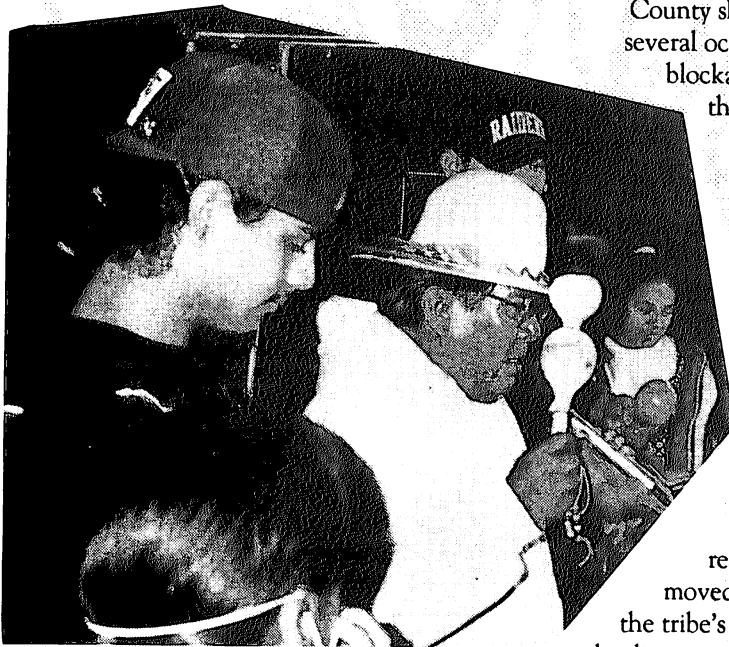
health and environment of the reservation. "This is our land. We don't want them here," she said.

The courageous, nonviolent yet militant fifteen-day stand in the face of noxious odors, sludge dust, swarms of flies, goons with AK47s, two unsuccessful goon attacks on the barricades, hostile police, and a grueling around-the-clock action is a powerful example of what a community and movement can do if they unite and take mass direct action.

For several years, companies had operated huge sewage sludge "composting" facilities on a tribal allotment on the reservation in defiance of tribal and federal law. Chino Corona Farms had dumped and abandoned nearly half a million tons of toxic contaminated sludge from the City of San Diego on the reservation, then filed for bankruptcy. Three other companies then began sludge operations, also ignoring federal and tribal cease and desist orders and tribal resolutions against the sludge operations.

Three dozen trucks a day with sludge from Los Angeles and Orange Counties trespassed onto the reservation until the blockade put a stop to this environmental injustice.

Tribal members had conducted two one-day blockades in August in the hope of forcing the Bureau of Indian Affairs to enforce tribal law and federal cease and desist orders. Yet the BIA still refused to act. Tribal members knew that the U.S.



## Photographs

top — The United Farm Workers mobilized hundreds of members who live near the illegal sludge facility.

above — Cahuilla Bird Singers from Torres Martinez sing their traditional songs at a community rally at the barricades.

opposite — "Closed by the People" — tribe members and supporters at the end of the victorious fifteen day blockade.

Photos by Bradley Angel

# Environmental Justice

## Indians Blockade Illegal Sludge Dump



government would not voluntarily protect the tribe's interests, so they decided that even more dramatic direct action was needed.

A significant factor in the success of the fifteen-day October blockade was the tremendous outpouring of support from the nearby farmworker and Latino community, who turned out day after day to support the struggle for justice. Farmworkers on their way to work in the fields brought breakfast burritos to the barricades every morning and joined the blockade every evening after work. The United Farm Workers played a major role in officially supporting the blockade and mobilizing hundreds of their members.

Mass community rallies were held every night and tribal members, farmworkers, and others inspired the blockaders to remain strong until victory. All the rallies were conducted in English and Spanish, reflecting the unity of the Native and Latino communities in the struggle. The drum of the American Indian Movement of Arizona, farmworker songs of struggle, and the traditional songs and stories of the Cahuilla Bird Singers were heard night after night, demonstrating that this was a fight to preserve the people's culture and traditions as well as the environment.

The Cahuilla Bird Singers in particular played a very important role by providing cultural and spiritual connection and inspiration with their traditional creation and social songs. The blockade served to bring out great Cahuilla pride in their culture, Nation, language, songs, and dance. This aspect was very powerful for all to see.

The Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla were supported in the fifteen-day blockade by people from many other southern California tribes, California Indians for Cultural and Environmental Protection, the United Farm Workers, International Indian Treaty Council, Indigenous Environmental Network, American Indian Movement of Arizona, Diné CARE (from the Navajo Nation), California Communities Against Toxics, Greenpeace, and many other allies.

A mass rally on October 22 brought together over 400 people, including delegations of supporters from the Madre del Este Los Angeles, Labor Community Watchdog/Strategy Center, Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, and others.

The BIA was publicly stating its desire to strike a deal with the sludge companies to allow them to operate over the objections of the Tribe in exchange for removing the largest sludge pile, the half-

million-ton pile known as Mount San Diego.

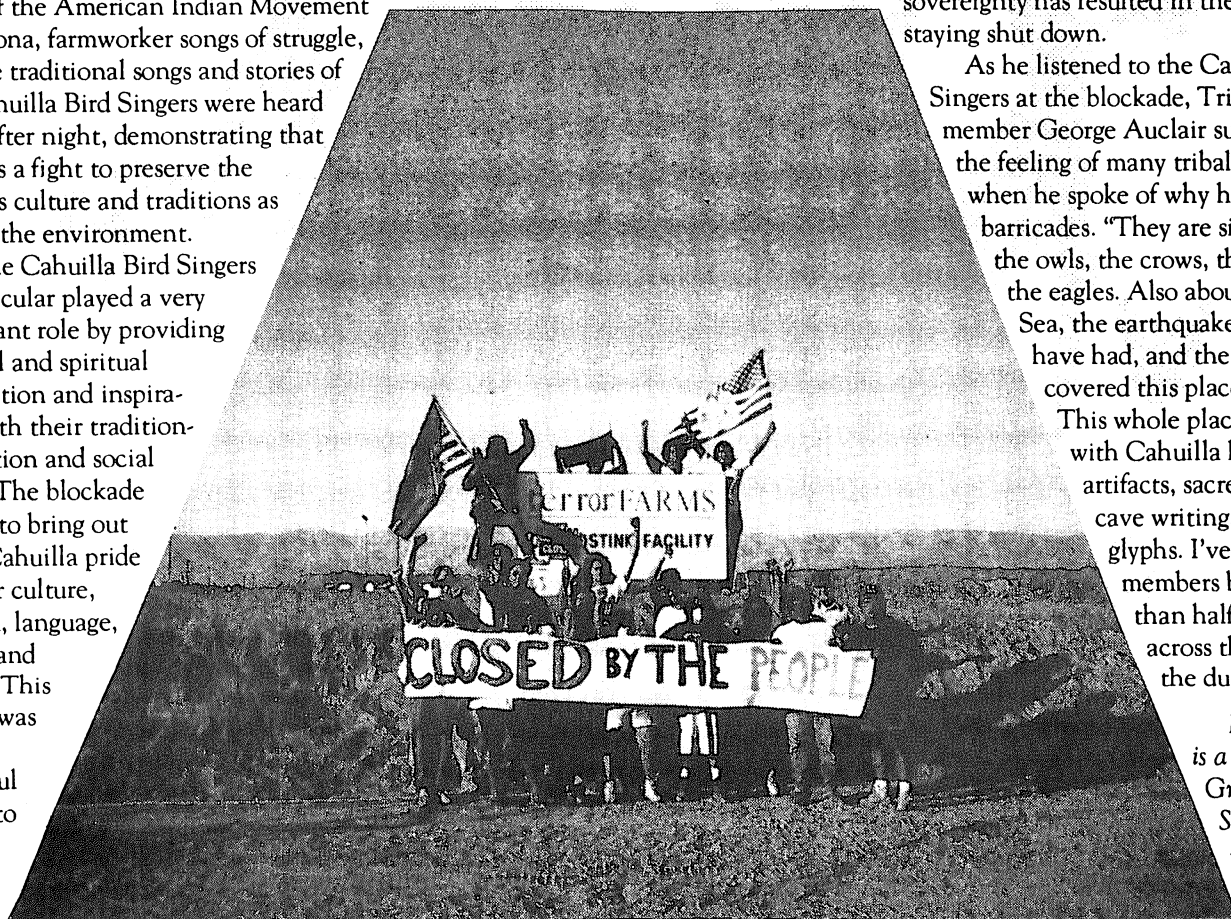
This scheme, apparently hatched by U.S. Environmental Protection Agency officials, was denounced by tribal members as environmental racism and a gross violation of tribal sovereignty. Tribal members were firm in their demand that the sludge operations be permanently shut and that the City of San Diego and responsible federal agencies remove the stinking mountain of sludge.

Early on the evening of November 1, on the fifteenth day of the blockade, the U.S. government finally gave in to the wishes of the tribal members and got a federal judge to sign a temporary restraining order against the sludge operations. While it is clear that the U.S. attorneys and federal agencies are not representing the interests of the tribe in the ongoing court proceedings against sludge operators, the determination of tribal members to defend their health, environment and sovereignty has resulted in the sludge site staying shut down.

As he listened to the Cahuilla Bird Singers at the blockade, Tribal Council member George Auclair summed up the feeling of many tribal members when he spoke of why he was at the barricades. "They are singing about the owls, the crows, the hawks, the eagles. Also about the Salton Sea, the earthquakes that we have had, and the ocean that covered this place before.

This whole place is filled with Cahuilla history: artifacts, sacred things, cave writing, picture glyphs. I've got family members buried less than half a mile across the field from the dump."

*Bradley Angel  
is a staffer with  
Greenpeace in  
San Francisco,  
415-512-  
9025.*





# A Recipe for Gay Rights Activism

by Lynn Hamilton

Though the threat of an Olympic boycott may have helped kill anti-gay legislation in Chatham County, Georgia, the quick and efficient response of gay rights activists deserves most of the credit.

In September, the Independent Presbyterian Church in downtown Savannah asked Chatham County commissioners to consider issuing an anti-gay resolution that characterizes non-"traditional" lifestyles as detrimental to everything from child development to financial independence. Such resolutions have already been passed in Cobb County — which has since lost its opportunity to host an Olympic event — and Wayne County.

Politicians and writers speculate that underlying this surge of homophobic reaction are the fears of work benefits for live-in partners and endorsement of gay lifestyles in public education.

So why did Chatham County so quickly defeat anti-gay action which is spreading elsewhere like a brush fire?

1) First City Network, the gay headquarters in Savannah, published a front-page news brief and call for action in their newsletter, the *Chatham Citizen*. Readers were asked to write letters (in preference to phone calls which leave no paper trail and can be conveniently forgotten) to the Chatham County Commission.

2) First City Network also invited members and supporters to attend the October 7th County Commission meeting. Two representatives addressed the Commission. Others were asked to be present in a silent, thoroughly respectful show of support.

3) The gentle diplomacy of Mark Krueger, spokesperson for the gay community, made the Presbyterians look bad, bad, bad. "I do want to emphasize that I have no problem with [Presbyterian bill sponsor] Terry Johnson having his opinions," Krueger said to the press. "But when he uses the government to impose his views and criminalize me and my friends, that is unacceptable."

4) Veiled threats of boycotts, lost business, reduced tourism, and even the

## Fighting the religious right in Savannah, Georgia

possible loss of the sailing Olympics reached the press right away. Savannah relies heavily on the tourist trade and had to look hard at the prolonged tourist boycott of Colorado, aimed at recently-passed anti-gay state legislation.

Not one Chatham County Commissioner has taken a position dynamically supportive of gay rights. When the storm first broke, Commissioners hid behind affirmations of church and state separateness, presumably stalling for time. The only Commissioner who in any way assailed the Church's intolerance was Joe Mahoney, who said, "America has a crotch fixation."

Yet, given an opportunity to place its proposal on the next Commission meeting's agenda, the Independent Presbyterian Church declined. "We're not going to get involved in a political fight," said Terry Johnson, once it was clear that he could not easily win. While it is possible for another group to ask the Commissioners to consider the resolution, the silent

but powerful gay community in Savannah has shown and retracted its claws, allowing the Commission to take credit, in the press, for having the good sense not to shoot itself in the foot as did Cobb County.

The Independent Presbyterian ministers apparently had no clue how efficiently networked the Savannah gay community is. One phone call to First City Network links up a newcomer with the gay community action group, an emergency hotline, and three bars. Influential professionals in

Savannah are not only out, but also available to publicly support human rights issues. The Savannah gay community is a model of minority solidarity.

A year ago, Commissioner Bill Byrne signed the anti-gay resolution in Cobb County. Shortly thereafter, his daughter Shannon came out of the closet during a public repudiation of her father's legislation.

To people who believe in God, doesn't this look like a sign from heaven?



## Anti-Gay Initiatives Fail in Oregon, Idaho

by Alex Robertson Textor

Despite gains by the Christian right across the country, in the two states where anti-gay initiatives were on the ballot, they went down to defeat.

In Oregon, Measure 13 lost, 53-47 percent, a narrower margin than the 56-44 percent defeat suffered by Measure 9 in 1992. The shift demonstrates that more palatable language nudges a sliver of the mainstream electorate towards a yes vote.

The three metropolitan counties rejected the Oregon Citizen's Alliance (OCA), as did the two university cities. But rural counties that voted against Measure 9 by slim margins this time went slightly for Measure 13. The OCA has already filed two anti-gay measures for 1996.

The pleasant shock came in Idaho, where Amendment One was rejected,

though by a mere 2800 votes — 50.4 to 49.6 percent. The "no" vote was especially strong in the southeast corner of the state, where urban voters accounted for over four times the margin of victory. In northern counties, the measure passed easily.

What makes the statewide victory especially surprising is the extent to which Idaho otherwise suffered the Republican tidal wave of 1994. But the protracted fight against Amendment One enabled queers and progressives in Idaho to get to know each other for battles ahead.

Reprinted from *Crossroads* magazine, December 1994. *Crossroads* will carry a longer article by Alex Robertson Textor on "Effective Queer Strategy," an assessment of strategic lessons learned by the queer left in recent battles with the Christian right, in the March 1995 issue. Send \$24 for one year (ten issues) to PO Box 2809, Oakland CA 94609.

# Everglades Organizing Takes to the Streets



by Bruce Gagnon

Over 300 people from all parts of Florida marched on the South Florida Water Management District Headquarters in West Palm Beach on October 22nd denouncing the state's "Everglades Forever Act."

The event, organized by the Florida Coalition for Peace & Justice, Clean Water Action, and the Friends of the Everglades, called for an end to taxpayer subsidies for Big Sugar. The sugar corporations have been dumping phosphate-contaminated water in the Everglades for years. The "Everglades Forever Act" allows Big Sugar to continue the pollution and has the public paying for over half of the \$685 million in clean-up costs mandated by the law.

## Students Join In

At least half of the protesters were middle and high school students who asked to work on the Everglades issue at

the Florida Coalition's peace camp this summer. Workshops on the Everglades were held and banners were made in arts and crafts workshops during the camp. One of the speakers at the rally was peace camper Alisha Deen, whose emotional presentation was a highlight of the day.



Members of the Independent Traditional Seminole Nation of Florida lead a march protesting sugar corporations' pollution of the Everglades and a law which forces the public to pay over half of the clean-up costs. Photo by Jerry Williamson, *The Gainesville Iguana*.

She recalled going into a mall near her hometown of Miami and seeing fake alligators, birds, and other wildlife. "Is this our future? Is this the only place wildlife will be able to live? In the mall?"

The rally ended with a moving speech by Danny Billy, spokesperson for the

Independent Traditional Seminole Nation of Florida. About fifteen members of his family led the march. Danny talked about money and its firm grip on society. He spoke about how his family members were getting sick from eating store-bought food. The pain in his heart was evident as he spoke about the loss of their homeland, the river of grass. They had resisted the U.S. Army, and now they faced pollution and "progress."

The next major step for activists concerned about the Everglades will be to let people know that the struggle is still going on. Because the legislature passed the much-criticized "Everglades Forever Act," many people think that the problem is solved. In fact, major work must be done to stop further developments around the Everglades region.

Projects like "Wayne's World," the 2500 acre sports empire planned by Blockbuster Chair H. Wayne Huizenga, will have a terrible impact on the Everglades.

Thus far many environmental groups who have worked on the Everglades issue have used an "inside," or legislative strategy. What was significant about the October 22 action in West Palm Beach was that it served as a start for a re-evaluation of political strategy. Now there is growing talk that there will be an "inside" and an "outside" strategy. People are beginning to realize that the public is very supportive of putting heat on the politicians to do the right thing on the Everglades issue.

Bruce Gagnon is coordinator of the Florida Coalition for Peace & Justice. Reprinted from the *Gainesville Iguana*, PO Box 14712, Gainesville FL 32604, 904-378-5655.

## Orchid Expert Working with Seminoles Busted

In other developments on the peninsula, the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., (in one of many economic development projects) linked up with internationally-known orchid expert John Larouche to develop a nursery to grow and market exotic plants for sale. The Seminoles, with an unemployment rate of 40%, see this venture as a way to protect the Fakahatchee swamp from unwarranted and illegal plant gathering in addition to developing a tribal business which would provide employment for tribal members. On December 21, 1993, Larouche and three tribal employees were arrested as they emerged from the swamp with 136 plants for use as breeding stock for the new venture. Although tribal employees and the nursery manager Larouche pleaded no contest to violation of the Florida Administrative code for cutting up trees, the case affirmed the exemption of the Seminoles from state law concerning gathering of plants in state preserves.



# New Farmworkers' Center Opens in El Paso

The Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas Fronterizas/Union of Border Agricultural Workers (UTAF) celebrated the opening of their new Farmworkers' Center in El Paso in November 1994.

According to Carlos Marentes, UTAF director, "The Farmworkers' Center will serve as the headquarters of farmworkers' struggles. Its purpose is to unite farmworkers and to integrate them into the community." Marentes says that the center will not be run like a social service project or a government agency. The center will be run by the farmworkers themselves, serving whatever needs they determine.

The Center will provide a place for workers to meet together and organize. It

will also house a medical clinic with limited services and will help farmworkers enter into the city's health care system. There are presently no other health benefits or programs available to agricultural workers in El Paso.

## Daycare & Food Bank

The Center will also provide a place for the children of farmworkers to stay when their families are working.

A food bank and kitchen will be available, as well as lockers for storage so that farmworkers will have a permanent place to keep their belongings. A credit-union type system will be set up for the farmworkers to be able to save their money.

The Center will also serve as a

clearinghouse to gather information about the activities of other workers throughout the country. For example, farmworkers can learn about worker strikes happening, and avoid being unknowingly used as strike-breakers in other parts of the country.

People from the community are also welcome to use the Center, but the focus will be on agricultural workers' needs.

UTAF has long seen a need for a Farmworkers' Center. The idea started with the need for a shelter to house homeless farmworkers living in El Paso. In 1984, UTAF approached the El Paso City Council with a proposal for a Center. On passage of a resolution in support of building a Center, UTAF began the planning and fundraising for the project.

A lot of struggle took place between UTAF and the City Council in drafting the funding contract. For example, the City Council tried to impose a clause in the contract that said that the Farmworkers' Center must comply with U.S. Border Patrol policies and those of other government agencies. UTAF refused to sign with this clause in the contract, and ultimately did not sign until the contract coincided with their principles.

For more information, call UTAF, 915-532-0921. Excerpted from *Voces Unidas* — see below.



*Fuerza Unida protesters confront a puppet of Bob Haas, CEO of Levi's, with whip in hand. Photo by FU (see below). Courtesy of Southwest Network for Environmental & Economic Justice, 505-242-0416.*

## Fuerza Unida Levi's Boycott Continues

Former workers at the Levi's plant in San Antonio, Texas continue their boycott of Levi's products. The plant closed in 1990 and moved to Costa Rica, resulting in 1150 jobs lost in Texas. Ninety percent of the workers were Mexican-American women.

The women banded together to fight back as Fuerza Unida, and point out that over 7000 Levi's jobs have been lost in the U.S. since 1985, while Levi's profits soared. Demonstrations and support actions took place in at least twelve cities in 1994.

### Go Patchless

Already own Levi's pants? Show your support for the boycott by cutting off the patch and mailing it to Levi's headquarters, 1155 Battery, San Francisco CA 94111, saying that you will not buy Levi's again until the company settles with Fuerza Unida.

For more information on the boycott and Fuerza Unida, write or call PO Box 830083, San Antonio TX 78283-0083, 512-299-2666.



Over a decade of struggle for justice  
SouthWest Organizing Project's Albuquerque, New Mexico

**Voces Unidas** is published by the SouthWest Organizing Project, a multi-racial, multi-issue, community-based organization working "to empower the disenfranchised in the Southwest to realize racial and gender equality, and social and economic justice."

Voces Unidas carries news and photos from such projects as Child & Youth Development Resources, Southwest Network for Environmental & Economic Justice, toxic waste organizing, Native American issues, and more.

You can receive *Voces Unidas* for \$10 per year. Additional donations help sustain the publication. Contact SWOP, 211 10th St. SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102, 505-247-8832.

# Detroit Summer Trilogy



## Youth work to re-build, re-spirit, and re-define the city

by Tracey Hollins

'92, '93, '94... Three years of struggle, hard work, determination, the beginning of a movement. A trilogy (though not yet quite as popular as the "Godfather" movies) that has been recognized by many. Detroit Summer is a program that has touched the hearts and enlightened the minds of people from all walks of life. Politicians, striving community leaders, and citizens concerned about what happens to their city and all related to it have joined together to put an end to the "downfall" of Detroit. We have set out to provide alternatives for violence, bridge the community gap, and

prove that diversity does not mean destruction.

1992

A Call to Detroit Summer '92 began it all for me. Finally, an opportunity to do something positive

spectrum are in their ways equally beautiful, but they naturally blend together. As people met one another peacefully and enjoyed learning of each others' backgrounds it was hard to imagine someone not taking pleasure in gaining the knowledge of a different culture or lifestyle. It was also refreshing to be able to sit and converse with someone and know that you would not be judged solely on the color of your skin. I could tell that this was a perfect place for me.

I was very enthusiastic about beginning the actual program. Being able to make a visible difference in the city is something that I have always wanted to be a part of. I was assigned to clean a vacant lot with several other participants. We were fortunate enough to receive support from the community around us, therefore achieving another of our goals. Detroit Summer '92 began a lot of our traditions,

like the newsletter, intergenerational dialogues, and ceremonial closings. I became a coordinator after '92 and have helped in the two years since, which complete the trilogy. Ever since that first flyer reached my hands I have had an



was at my fingertips. A short application and I was on my way. When orientation rolled around, I was ready to go. It was two o'clock and the participants began to roll in. The colors of the room at the First U.U. Church were beautiful. No, I don't mean the reds and blues. I'm speaking of shades of browns and pinks and peaches of skins. Reds, golds, blacks, and browns of hair. Yes, the colors of the

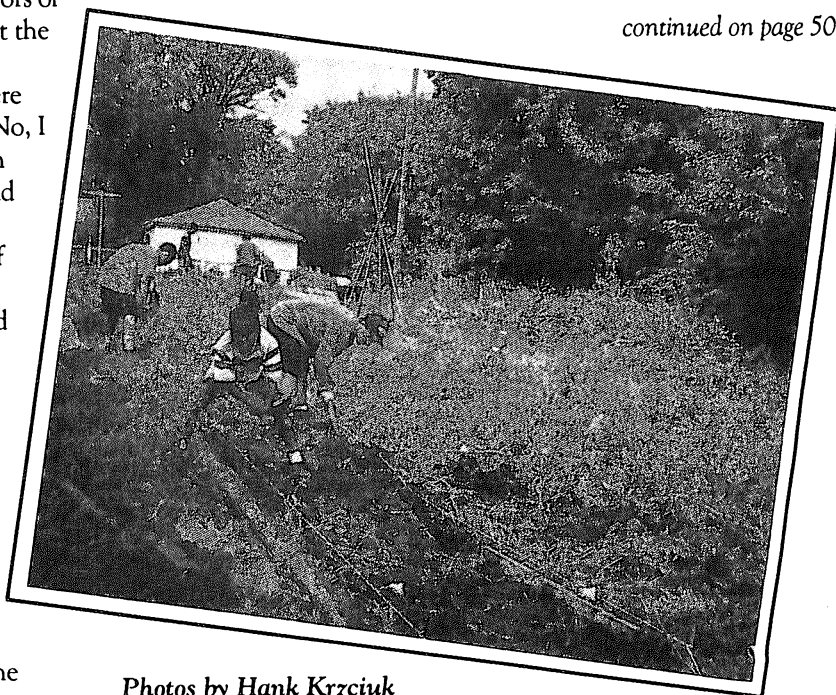
## Detroit Summer '95

Detroit Summer 1995 will be held from June 24 to July 22. Youth from across the country and abroad are invited to join in the fourth annual Detroit Summer.

We need your help and participation in these ongoing efforts:

- recruitment, local and national
- youth speakers for interviews, panels and workshops
- community outreach
- newsletter writing, design, and layout
- fundraising
- 1995 program and project planning

For more information, call 313-832-2904.



Photos by Hank Krzciuk

*continued on page 50*



# Green Direct Action Networks

## Green Notes

Cuyahoga Hours is a barter currency being established in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, with the help of the **Northeast Ohio Greens** and Women for Racial and Economic Equality. The organizing, which takes place at potluck dinners, aims to establish a barter currency of "one hour" denomination notes, similar to barter currencies circulating in Ithaca, NY; Santa Fe, NM; and Akron, OH. For more info, call 216-381-1372. Contact the Northeast Ohio Greens at 216-283-6420.

The **Raritan-Brunswick Greens** and the Radiator Cafe Collective sponsored a Community Bicycle Forum, including presentations on establishing bikeways which would connect Rutgers campuses. The program included a slide show by the New York City-based group Transportation Alternatives. Contact the Raritan-Brunswick Greens at 908-777-2139.

The **Escambia County Greens** in Northern Florida are working on Com-monground II, an environmental justice conference planned for early March [see page 42]. Contact the Escambia County Greens at 904-474-1495.

**Green Party News.** For a round-up of fall 1994 Green electoral results across the country, we recommend the excellent publication of the Raritan-Brunswick Greens, *Jersey Green Journal*. Subscriptions are \$5-10 per year. Greenworld, Box 2029, Princeton, NJ 08543, 609-443-6782.

Activists from the **Lake Superior Greens**, the Northern Environmental Network, and the **Green Party of Minnesota** welcomed President Clinton to Duluth with two 20-foot banners opposing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), hung from the roof of the DeWitt-Seitz Building. The banners, which read "Make GATT Green" and "Support Fair Trade" emphasized that GATT will destroy many U.S. environmental, labor, and consumer safety standards. Activists also leafletted the crowd waiting to see Clinton. For more info, call Greta Gaard, 218-726-6148.

At the 1993 National Gathering, the Greens adopted the idea of forming Direct Action Networks, issue-based networks of Green locals.

Green Direct Action Networks are decentralized, each having its own coordinators and contact people. Current Networks are:

**Food Circles.** Facilitates communication and actions around sustainable agriculture, trade, food safety, etc. Coordinated by Winston Gordon, C.T. Butler, Conrad Kaufman, and David Yarrow. Contact C.T. Butler of the Casco Bay Greens (Maine), 207-828-0401.

**Free Leonard Peltier.** Contact Inila-Wakan of the Earthrise Greens (Milford NJ), 908-995-7935.

**Solar Power/Community Power.** Contact Inila-Wakan of the Earthrise Greens, 908-995-7935.

**Hawaiian Sovereignty.** Coordinated by Manny Rogers and Ira Rohter. Call 808-822-5613.

**Green Currencies.** Coordinated by Susan Whitmore, Paul Glover, and Melissa McDonald. Call Paul Glover of the Ithaca Hours group, 607-273-8025.

**Health Care.** Promotes single-payer health care and holistic, preventative medicine. Coordinated by Jodean Marks, Tom Macchia, and Gary Zuckett. Call Gary Zuckett of the West Virginia Greens at 304-659-3193.

**Toxics.** Coordinated by Craig Volland and Don Fitz. Contact Don Fitz of the Gateway Green Alliance (St. Louis), 314-727-8554.

**Forests.** Contact Wes Wagar of the Chicago Greens Alliance, 312-243-5619.

**Green Cities and Green Justice.** Contact Farid Sidiq c/o Inila-Wakan, 908-995-7935.

**Nuclear Issues.** Contact David Ellison of the Northeast Ohio Greens, 216-696-0968.

For more information on the Direct Action Networks, contact Inila-Wakan, 324 Mt. Pleasant Rd., Milford, NJ 08848, 908-995-7935.



## GREEN POLITICS



A new issue of the national Greens publication, **Green Politics**, is now available. Contents include a St. Louis victory over a medical waste incinerator; coverage of fall 1994 Green candidates; and alternative local currencies, many launched by Greens. Single copies are \$1 from Greenworld, PO Box 2029, Princeton, NJ 08543, 609-443-6782. Bulk bundles of 100 copies are \$20 + \$2 shipping from the Greens Clearinghouse, 816-931-9366.

Green Politics is available with a membership in the Greens.

Contact the Greens Clearinghouse  
PO Box 30208, Kansas City MO 64112-3208, or call 816-931-9366



# — Greenville Garden Gets Jobs Program —



The Greenville Community Garden [see *GroundWork* #4], a project initiated by the Delta Greens of New Orleans, was chosen as a site recipient by the Summer Urban Arts Training Program, in which high school students participate in a six-week job training project. The students were divided into two teams: blue and green.

Youth participant Tasha Torrence describes her experience:

"Our project started with a field trip on a rainy day to see the garden. Part of our work was to plan together with the neighborhood gardeners to choose things that we can do that they would like to have.

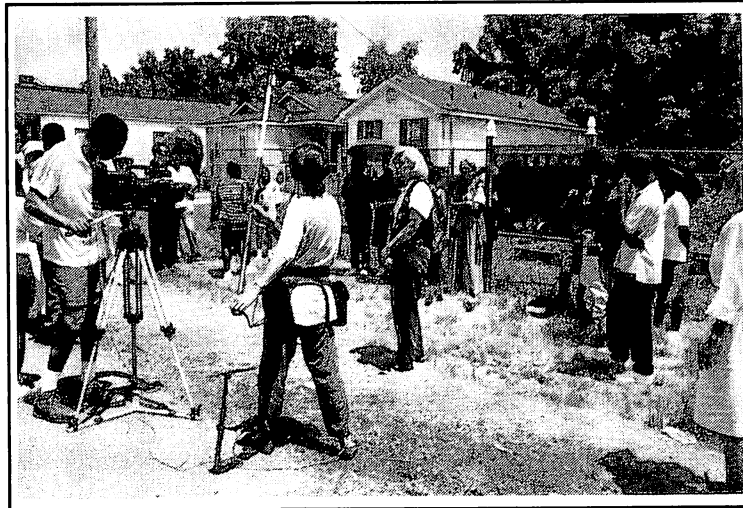
"Together we settled on a purple martin birdhouse and decorative clay plaques for the fences. The green team decided to create a ceramic tile sign.

"We had to design a work plan assigning different tasks to different crew members and deciding on deadlines. We had to do a lot of research about purple

martins in particular.

"We documented our work with photographs every step of the way. During the six weeks we worked, we learned to do things we thought were impossible, such as cutting, sawing, and drilling wood for the birdhouse, and making hand-built ceramic slabs, glazing them, and firing them for the plaques. After all the hard work, we came out with something to be proud of."

*From the Delta Greens Quarterly, 7725 Cohn St., New Orleans LA 70118, 504-861-8832.*



*Participants in a job training program joined with members of the Delta Greens to build a mosaic sign for Greenville Community Garden, unveiled in this ceremony. Photo by Camille Martin.*

## New Green Locals

A new Green local has formed encompassing Lambertville, New Jersey and New Hope, Pennsylvania. The group plans to meet on Tuesday evenings at the Lambertville library. Initial discussions have focused on recycling, public transit, and a campaign to limit overdevelopment in Bucks County, PA (which is part of the bioregion). For more info, call the Lambertville-New Hope Greens, 215-862-3786.

Green activists in southern New Jersey are also forming a "regional" local, the South-Central New Jersey Greens. The initial gathering will be held on January 28th, 1995 on the campus of Rowan College. For more info, call 609-453-1307.

*The Greens are a national network of local groups. Green locals network at national gatherings and via Direct Action Networks (see page 24).*

For information on a Green local or Green activity in your area, contact the Greens, 816-931-9366.

## Resources for the Green Movement

### The Green Alternative

Creating an Ecological Future

*Revised edition, by Brian Tokar*

Here is the completely revised edition of Brian Tokar's classic book on the Green movement. *The Green Alternative* applies a holistic perspective to a broad spectrum of social and economic issues, including environmental issues, social justice, feminism, anti-racism, cultural change, organic gardening, movement building, and peace.

It explores the elements of a "green" political vision and strategy, traces the origins and history of the U.S. Greens, and suggests ways to apply green understandings and perception to politics and social change.

The clear analysis and succinct history will help activists deepen their understanding of the interconnections among issues and refine their strategies for creating a more just, compassionate, and sustainable society.

*The first edition of The Green Alternative sold over 18,000 copies. Over 25% of the material in the revised edition is new. Available from New Society Press, \$9.95 paperback (see address, page 45).*

### Thinking Green

Ecofeminists and The Greens

*Produced by Greta Gaard*

In the last decade, two movements for social and ecological justice have quietly gathered strength. What do these movements have in common? How might they work together?

This 35-minute video explores the possibilities for coalition-building between Ecofeminists and Greens.

The video features over two dozen speakers, including Winona LaDuke, Walt Bresette, Margo Adair, Brian Tokar, and Riane Eisler.

*"Thinking Green" can be ordered for \$14ppd. Write directly to Dr. Greta Gaard, Dept. of English, 420 Humanities Building, University of Minnesota, Duluth, MN 55812.*

# Food Not Bombs

## Food Not Bombs Plans June Gathering in San Francisco

On June 26th, 1995, world attention will be focused on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, to be held in San Francisco. Food Not Bombs proposes that human rights activists from around the world meet in San Francisco during that week (June 15-26) to share ideas and to protest the New World Order. Workshops on everything from vegan cooking to community radio are being discussed, as well as a concert and lots of free food and fun. Regional gatherings are also being considered in some areas.

For more info, or to propose a workshop, call Food Not Bombs, 1-800-884-1136 or 415-386-9209.



East Bay FNB photos, counter-clockwise from top left:

Many local stores, markets, and bakeries donate to East Bay Food Not Bombs. Food is stored in a huge refrigerator in the back yard of one member's house.

Meal preparation is done at a different house almost every day of the week. Here, the Friday crew chops and cooks at a U.C. Berkeley student coop.

Monday through Friday, Food Not Bombs serves lunch at Peoples Park in Berkeley. Although the line is often long — as many as a hundred people — there is always more than enough food.

Some of the people enjoying their meal are Food Not Bombers who helped with preparation and some are those who, it is hoped, will help clean up after the meal.

On Sundays, East Bay FNB serves a meal in downtown Oakland.

Photos by Lydia Gans • design by George Franklin

# BOMBS

## East Bay Food Not Bombs Feeds Berkeley, Oakland

East Bay Food Not Bombs (pictured here, see pages below) — one of about 50 FNB groups in the U.S. and Canada — took off in Berkeley in 1991 in the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War. The name of the group says it all: Food, Not Bombs! In the East Bay, FNB provides six meals a week that can only be described as a sumptuous feast: hot soups, beans and rice, fruit and vegetable salads, breads and pastries... sometimes pizza or corn on the cob or bagels with cream cheese.

Starving artists, poor radicals, punk kids, homeless people, mothers with young children, college students, Berkeley tourists, even local storekeepers eat with Food Not Bombs. East Bay Food Not Bombs enjoys the support of the community and is not hassled by the police.

For more information or to get involved with East Bay Food Not Bombs, call 510-644-4187 or 510-540-0751 (The Long Haul).

by Gene Gordon



## Food Not Bombs News

☛ Keith McHenry of San Francisco, a Food Not Bombs co-founder, is planning a tour of six FNB cities in March and April 1995: Dallas, St. Louis, New Orleans, Washington DC, Philadelphia and Boston. Keith has been arrested numerous times for serving free food in San Francisco (see *San Francisco news* below). For more information, call 1-800-884-1136.

**Ogden, Utah.** Ogden FNB has been serving on Saturdays at Lester Park near the library, feeding about 40-50 people, including a lot of families. Ogden is on a major rail line, so travelers often pass through, especially in warmer months. The city recently renewed the group's permit, making the group "as legal as any organization in the county." For more information, call 801-399-2771. (Thanks to Anthony)

**Boston.** Boston FNB serves meals several days a week: Tuesday noon and Wednesday 5:45pm at Copley Square; Friday and Saturday noon at Boston Commons; and Sunday 5pm at St.

more Food Not Bombs news on page 50





## Cove Mallard Logging Update

A federal judge lifted the injunction against logging and road building in the Cove Mallard area of the Nez Perce National Forest in early December 1994 [see *GroundWork* #3]. An appeal was immediately filed by environmental and sports groups.

The Lewiston Morning Tribune reported in late January that some logging had begun in the area, but that further court orders concerning logging and/or endangered species might stop it.

Activists say renewed protests are being considered for spring or summer in the event that logging continues.

Groups including Earth First!, Alliance for the Wild Rockies, and the Missoula Peace Center helped organize protests in the Cove Mallard area over the past several years, resulting in about 150 arrests, and culminating in the injunction against logging the area. Protesters who refused to pay fines have been sentenced to up to two months in jail.

For more information, contact Wade Gruhl, Idaho Nonviolent Wilderness Area Rescue & Defense, 208-882-9755.



## California AIDS Walk

An 850-mile walk focusing on AIDS-related issues will leave Laguna Beach on June 1st, 1995. After passing through coastal cities, the march will conclude in Sacramento on August 31st. A typical walk day will cover about fifteen miles. Regional coordinators are needed to help with logistics. Potlucks, forums, and rallies need to be organized along the route.

People interested in walking all or part of the route as well as other volunteers are needed, as are donations to cover costs.

Contact PO Box 188135, Sacramento CA 95818-8135, 916-535-5067.

## Activists in 38 States Join to Help Stop the War on the Poor

All across the country, citizens joined forces to organize "Our Children's Hearts Are In Your Hands," a National Day of Action on Valentine's Day (February 14, 1995). Spearheaded from Salt Lake City, Utah, events ultimately occurred in at least 38 states.

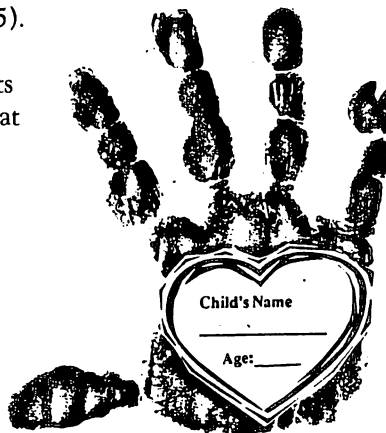
This event was designed to show members of Congress and State Legislatures that there is a strong, unified, grassroots opposition to the destruction of our nation's safety net. The theme of the day was designed to symbolize the great human devastation which will ensue if proposals which would eliminate or severely restrict

AFDC, SSI, Food Stamps, housing assistance, and child nutritional programs (to name a few) are adopted.

To get in touch with the welfare advocacy organization nearest you that participated in this campaign, contact: Justice, Economic Dignity and Independence for Women (JEDI Women) at 801-364-7765. The event was co-sponsored by the Bertha Capen Reynolds Society: A National Organization of Progressive Workers in Social Welfare. (Columbus Circle

Station, PO Box 20563, New York NY 10023.)

Heidi Lieberman, Brooklyn



## Web of Life Shuts Military's Project ELF



Opponents of the Navy's Project ELF have staged numerous demonstrations over the past three years. Here, Mothers Day protesters weave a "web of life" outside the ELF gates; 28 people were arrested. Activists also marched on the transmitter site on October 2, 1994, the 125th anniversary of Mohandis Gandhi's birth. Project ELF transmitters send commands to nuclear submarines around the world. The seventy protesters laid symbolic gifts of truth, nonviolence, disarmament, etc., at the gates. Sixteen people were arrested, bringing to 255 the number of trespass citations issued since 1991. The protest was sponsored by the Nukewatch Coalition to Stop Project ELF. Contact Nukewatch, 608-767-3023, or the Project ELF coalition at 715-472-8721. Photo by Sharon Knopp.

# Earth First! Takes on Tennessee Nukes



## Three of last four new reactors cancelled

by Karen Pickett

[In early December 1994, the Tennessee Valley Authority announced cancellation of three of its four planned nuclear reactors. This represents the largest single cancellation of reactors ever in the U.S. The story, however, was widely misreported in the media as a plan to halt construction of the "last three nuclear power plants," representing the "end of an era."

We can only hope it does portend the end of an era that has poisoned and cost dearly citizens around the world. But a major fact was ignored in the reporting, namely TVA's persistence with its Watts Bar One boondoggle. Neither Watts Bar Two nor the two reactors in the Bellafonte complex in Scottsboro, Alabama that were cancelled had serious construction efforts for years. But Watts Bar is still costing more than \$1 million a day, edging TVA closer to a Congressional debt limit of \$50 billion.

The cancellation of the three reactors does mean that Watts Bar is now the last power reactor under construction in the nation. TVA's occasionally-operating reactors at Sequoyah (Tennessee) and Brown Ferry (Alabama) have two of the worst operating histories in the U.S.

The following article was written after Earth First!'s summer protests, but before the recent cancellation announcement.]

The so-called "Monkey Trials" of 1925 had John Scopes on trial for teaching evolution in the schools (he lost). Now in the very same courtroom, it's the biocentrists meeting the nuclear creator, in what has been dubbed Monkey Trials II.

The biocentrists are twenty-seven Earth First! activists going on trial for blocking the entrance to a nuclear power plant in eastern Tennessee. The nuclear creator is one of the biggest boosters of nuclear power in the U.S., the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

TVA's history is long and nefarious, and the Watts Bar nuclear plant, located between Chattanooga and Knoxville, is one of their worst creations, standing as testament to the nuclear dream gone awry. Though a nuke plant is a somewhat unusual target for a group that usually

focuses on land use and wildlife issues, the ecological and species issues being brought up by Earth First! are critical issues, and not news to the locals who have been

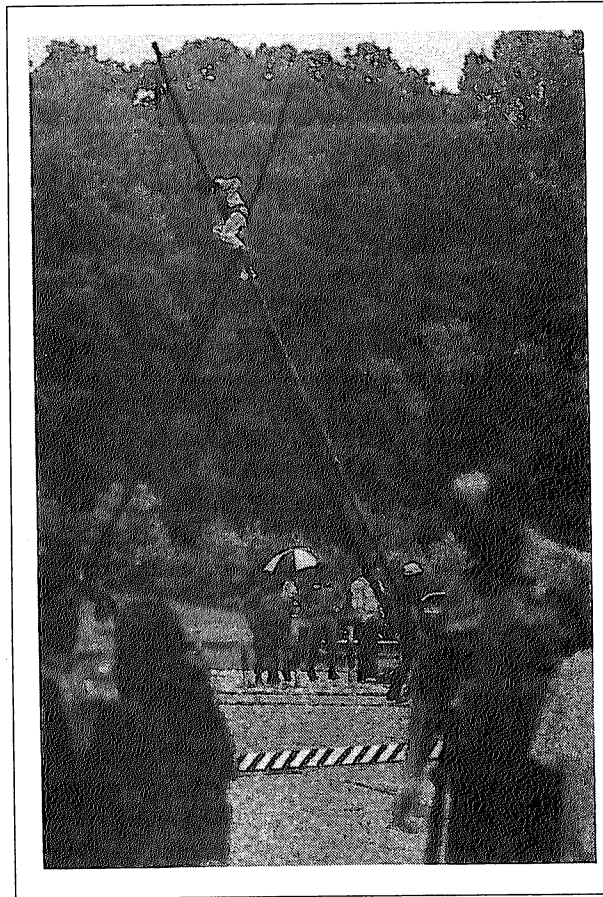
blockade, and one that had the TVA security and local police scratching their heads when they arrived. For a few hours demonstrators danced, sang, drummed, and talked to media. As dawn broke, a light rain swept through a 14-mile-long traffic jam that snaked down the road. Immediately after informing demonstrators they could leave the site and avoid arrest, police charged the crowd and began making random arrests. When the dust settled, 54 people had been arrested. Four more activists were arrested seeking information on the arrestees. A cop told an EF!er who asked about her civil rights, "You left your civil rights at the county line." Welcome to Tennessee.

### Watts Bar is a Lemon

The only nuclear plant still under active construction in the U.S., the Watts Bar Nuke has been under construction for 22 years, those years pock-marked with delays, huge cost overruns, safety problems, and controversy. Only weeks

before the plant was to begin operation in 1985, construction was halted by safety concerns brought forward by workers. A subsequent Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) investigation revealed a large number of significant safety problems not previously identified by TVA, including problems with structural welding, substandard parts, improperly pulled electrical cables, and inadequate seismic supports. The price tag of this boondoggle is currently over \$9 billion and growing daily. TVA is currently spending over \$1 million a day to fix safety problems still being uncovered at the plant. This year, NRC officials expressed a lack of confidence in TVA's newest schedule that Watts Bar will be ready to start up in the

*continued on page 51*



Watts Bar protester atop tripod in Earth First! blockade in Tennessee. Photo by Karen Pickett.

battling this giant.

The direct action grew out of planning at the Round River Rendezvous, Earth First!'s week-long annual meeting, held in early July 1994 in the Cherokee National Forest on the North Carolina - Tennessee border. On July 11, about 150 of the Earth First!ers traveled to Spring City, Tennessee equipped with 35-foot-long poles and six concrete-filled 55-gallon barrels, to erect a blockade in the main thoroughfare into the nuclear plant before 4000 workers arrived. The prep crew raised the poles into a tripod, putting a sitter 25 feet up in the middle of the four-lane road, flanked by three barrels on each side. Blockaders plunged their arms elbow deep into a tube running through the middle of the barrels and locked their arms to a center point. It was a classic



# Environmental Racism: High Level Nuclear Waste on Native American Land



By **Tori Woodard**

Since GroundWork last reported on the struggle to prevent "temporary" Monitored Retrievable Storage (MRS) facilities for high level nuclear waste from being built on Native American land [see GroundWork #3], all but two tribes have withdrawn their applications for grants to pursue the idea. The decision wasn't easy for any tribe, since they all need economic development projects. For example, the Tonkawa Nation in Oklahoma voted against the proposal despite the fact that their bingo hall burned in July 1994, forcing them to look for other ways to pay for medical care and drinking water.

## Fighting Back on the Mescalero Apache Reservation

Perhaps the most difficult struggle against a proposal to host an MRS facility took place on the Mescalero Apache Reservation near Ruidoso, New Mexico. Most tribal members would not openly oppose the MRS for fear of losing their jobs. Tribal businesses are controlled by the Tribal Council, which saw the MRS as an economic opportunity.

In addition, the nuclear industry used its considerable wealth and influence to try to build an MRS on the reservation. In December 1994, 33 utilities representing 94 of the nation's 110 operating nuclear reactors signed an agreement with the Tribal Council to build a private MRS. Yet, when tribal members had a chance to vote on the agreement one month later, they rejected it.

This tremendous victory was won by grassroots organizing. Tribal member Rufina Laws formed Humans Against Nuclear-Waste Dumps (HANDs) to educate people about nuclear waste. She contacted the Board of Realtors in Ruidoso, who passed a resolution against the project in November 1994. She networked

with other groups, including PICANS (see below), NIRS (see publications sidebar, page 35), Nuclear Free America, and the Water Information Network in Albuquerque. And most importantly, she passed on what she learned about radioactive waste to tribal members, so they could make an informed decision.

The names of the utilities and other nuclear waste generators who signed the agreement with the Tribal Council are in the border-bands of these pages. They can be expected to turn their attention next to the Goshute Tribe, the Fort McDermitt Paiute-Shoshone Tribe, or to Yucca Mountain, which the federal government stole from the Western Shoshone. If your utility is listed, let them know that you think storing nuclear waste on Native American land is environmental racism.

Info: HANDs, 505-671-4844.

## Goshute Tribe Enters Agreement

The Office of the Nuclear Waste Negotiator is still looking for a community that will volunteer to host a government-built and operated MRS facility in exchange for promised economic development funds. In November 1994 the Skull Valley Band of Goshute in northwestern Utah signed a cooperative agreement with the Negotiator to work on a plan for an MRS facility.

This is the third grant that the Goshutes have received from the Negotiator. Danny Quintana (tribal attorney) says when the Negotiator first contacted the tribe, he thought there was a conspiracy to dump nuclear waste on Native American land. He had the Tribal Council apply for a grant so they could use it to educate themselves about nuclear waste, "slam dunk" the Negotiator, and notify Native Americans around the country about the conspiracy.

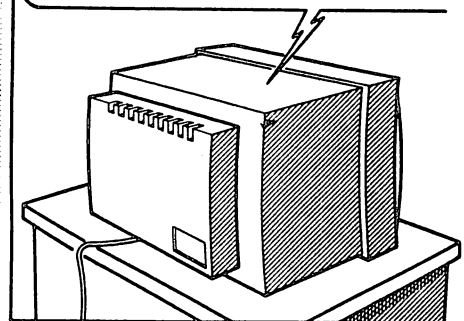
Tribal Council members used grant money to visit spent nuclear fuel storage facilities in Washington, Idaho, Oregon, California, Florida, Japan, France, Sweden, and Great Britain. Utility executives convinced Quintana that industry and

government are not conspiring against Native Americans; the utilities just need someplace to put their waste.

Quintana says that changed the picture for him. He and Tribal Council members concluded that it is possible to safely build a facility to store the irradiated waste fuel rods. They accepted a govern-

## For What It's Worth

A TRUCK CARRYING NUCLEAR FUEL RODS CRASHED AND BURNED ON THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY TODAY!



ment proposal for a \$550 million project. Then Congress canceled the grant process, necessitating further negotiation that led to the cooperative agreement mentioned above.

Tribal members have not been given an opportunity to vote on the proposed MRS. In the past year they rejected a proposal to locate a toxic waste incinerator on their land, and decided instead to start a recycling business. Tribal council proposals for a bingo parlor or dog racing were turned down by the State of Utah.

For more info, contact Quintana at 801-363-7726, the Nuclear Waste Negotiator at 202-634-6244, or Bradley Angel at Greenpeace, 415-512-9025.

## Paiutes and Shoshones Weigh MRS

The Ft. McDermitt Paiute-Shoshone Tribal Council received two grants from the Nuclear Waste Negotiator to look into hosting an MRS site. They have not officially pursued the idea since Congress canceled the grant program. However,

some tribal members remain interested in the promise of direct income or jobs that might come with an MRS facility. The truck stop and small casino that are being built in Ft. McDermitt won't replace all the jobs that were lost when the local mercury mine closed down in 1990.

The current idea is to locate the MRS facility in a traditional hunting area where antelope and deer calve and sage hens nest. If the facility were built, hunting near it would not be allowed, even if any deer, antelope or sage hens were to stay in

to 2.

After the September 1994 community meeting at which the poll results were released, tribal members indicated they will circulate a petition to the Tribal Council to declare the Ft. McDermitt Reservation a Nuclear Free Zone.

In January 1995 Ron Johnny and Gold Hawk Films of London began filming a documentary on proposals to store nuclear waste on Native American land. They started on the Ft. McDermitt Reservation, then moved on to the other tribes that are

(Problems with groundwater, volcanism, and earthquake activity at Yucca Mountain have forced DOE to push back its timeline for opening a permanent repository there to the year 2010.)

Yucca Mountain is adjacent to Nevada Test Site. Both are on Western Shoshone land. There is no Western Shoshone reservation in the vicinity because the tribe never agreed to be confined to a reservation. Members of the Western Shoshone Nation helped organize and participated in demonstrations that finally brought an end to nuclear testing on their land. They are just as opposed to the storage of nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain.

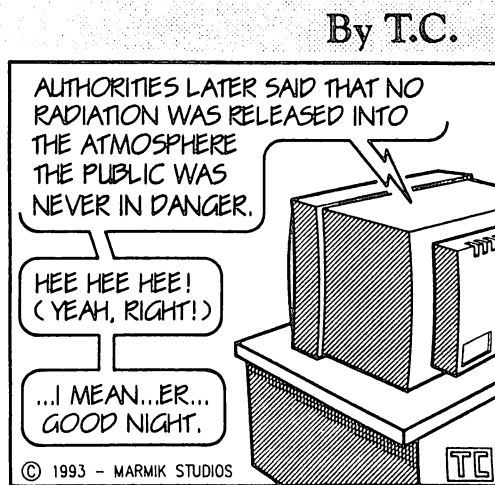
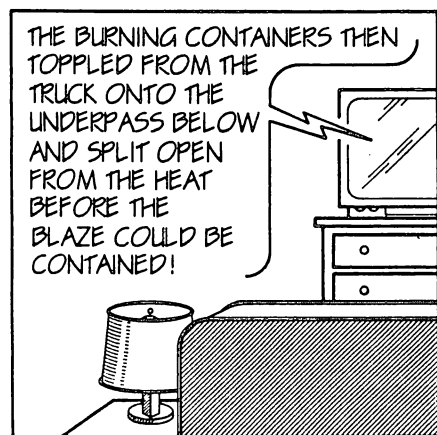
The state of Nevada is adamantly opposed to being the nation's nuclear dumping ground. The Nevada Nuclear Waste Project (a state agency) found that it would take thousands of years of the kind of nuclear weapons testing that was done at Nevada Test Site to approach the amount of contamination associated with a repository at Yucca Mountain.

Judy Treichel at the Nevada Nuclear Waste Task Force (a citizens group) believes that Congress will be more interested in forcing an MRS on Nevada than in paying the amount of money that a volunteer host community will demand. Opponents of nuclear waste storage at Yucca Mountain need the support of people in other states because Nevada does not have the political clout to prevent Congress from designating it a national sacrifice area.

To fight the storage of nuclear waste inside Yucca Mountain, community organizers are holding press conferences and educating the public in every state about the danger of transporting high level nuclear waste on the nation's highways and railroads.

Info: Citizen Alert, 702-648-8982; Western Shoshone National Council, 702-863-0227; Nevada Nuclear Waste

*continued on next page*



the busy area.

Ron Johnny, who was Tribal Council chairman from 1987-89, says the project is against the tribe's corporate charter, which prohibits the Council from entering agreements for longer than five years and from doing anything that would damage tribal grazing lands or injure natural resources. The MRS facility, which would involve 450 acres of asphalt and cement, as well as a superhighway for trucks to bring in the waste, is proposed to store nuclear waste for forty years.

The Tribal Council has never held a referendum to see if tribal members want to pursue the project. In November 1993 tribal members voted out the Tribal Council members who had supported the MRS proposal. In summer 1994 Citizen Alert Native American Program [CANAP] sent a questionnaire to every post office boxholder in Ft. McDermitt. Almost half were returned. The poll showed that tribal members oppose the project by 4 to 1, while non-tribal residents support it by 3

considering an MRS facility. The documentary is funded by Channel 4 in London.

For more info, contact CANAP at 702-827-5511.

### Western Shoshone Resist Yucca Mountain

Congress mandated that the nation's only permanent repository for high level waste be constructed at Yucca Mountain, Nevada. Under current law the state that hosts the permanent repository cannot be forced to also host an MRS facility.

However, Senator Bennett Johnston (D-LA) is expected to introduce legislation in February 1995 that will remove that restriction, in order to propose construction of an MRS at Yucca Mountain.

Any waste "temporarily" stored in an MRS at Yucca Mountain would very likely never be removed. That would create a de facto permanent repository before the many safety questions about this site and storage method could be answered.



## Environmental Racism: Nuclear Waste on Native American Land

*continued from preceding page*

Task Force, 800-227-9809.

### On-Site Storage of High Level Waste

Because a temporary, much less a permanent, storage site for high level nuclear waste keeps receding into the indefinite future, DOE is now promoting on-site, above-ground temporary storage of irradiated waste fuel rods at nuclear power plants.

Activists living near nuclear power plants have responded by building an Energy Transition Movement. They don't want nuclear waste stored on-site at their neighborhood nuke plant. Neither do they want it shipped to a remote community that doesn't use any electricity generated by the nuke plant. Instead, they advocate changing the regulatory structure so that utility companies benefit from shutting down nuclear power plants and switching to energy efficiency and renewable energy.

### Prairie Island Coalition Calls for Energy Transition

For example, the Prairie Island Coalition Against Nuclear Storage

[PICANS] wants Northern States Power Company [NSP] to switch to renewable energy. NSP runs the nuclear power plant on Prairie Island, Minnesota, and led the consortium that wanted to build a private MRS on the Mescalero Apache Reservation.

The Mdewakanton Dakota Nation, located on Prairie Island next to the nuclear power plant, is a founding member of PICANS. They oppose NSP's proposal to store spent fuel rods in dry casks above ground next to the plant. NSP says it will have to shut down the plant in 1995 if it is not allowed to move the fuel rods from cooling pools to dry storage. [See *Ground-Work #3* for background on the tribe and the plant.]

The pad for the casks was constructed two years ago. The casks are expected to arrive in winter 1995. Opponents fought the storage plan in Minnesota's Public Utilities Commission and legislature. They had many successes, but so did NSP's lobbyists. The Minnesota State House passed a bill requiring NSP to change to renewable resources and prohibited any storage of spent nuclear fuel on Prairie Island outside the plant buildings. However, a State House/Senate conference committee ended up approving the storage

facility.

The setback hasn't stopped the Energy Transition Movement. PICANS is leafletting at NSP headquarters on an ongoing basis. In August and December 1994, PICANS, NIRS [see *periodicals box*, page 35], and other groups around the country held coordinated demonstrations at nuclear power plants and offices of nuclear utilities [see *photo*]. Coordinated actions are planned again for Earth Day, 1995.

Contact PICANS at 612-333-5807.

### Fighting Nuclear Waste in Wisconsin

Point Beach, one of three nuclear power plants in Wisconsin, is 25 years old. As at many aging U.S. reactors, the pools which cool its irradiated waste fuel rods are full. WEPCO, the utility that runs the plant, has requested permission to store the rods on-site in above-ground dry casks. Problem is, the casks will be only 600 yards from Lake Michigan. The plant's closest neighbor says she has lost 200 feet of property to erosion in the last 50 years. The lake is the water supply for 14 million people.

WEPCO argues that radiation released from the dry casks will be insignificant to any area farmers working in their fields two hours a day, one day a week, 32 weeks a year. Problem is - what farmer only works two hours a day once a week?

Opponents of the proposed storage casks want Point Beach closed down rather than re-licensed. And they want WEPCO to convert to gas cogeneration, wind energy, solar energy, and bio-mass.

Public Service Commission hearings on the proposal were originally scheduled only in Manitowoc (where the plant is located). Opponents found it very intimidating to go there to testify. They held demonstrations that successfully demanded that hearings also be held in Milwaukee, Madison, and other large cities. They were able to give testimony against the proposal at a hearing in Madison.

For info contact Citizens Utility Board at 800-657-4727.



800 people marched to the site of Northern States Power Company's Prairie Island nuclear power plant on August 27, 1994. Marchers demanded that NSP cancel its plans to place irradiated waste fuel rods in cans on the island adjacent to the Mdewakanton Dakota Reservation. Thirty-nine people were arrested for entering the site during the rally. Photo by John LaForge, Nukewatch.

# Just A-Lookin' for a Home



By **Tori Woodard**

Deadlines have come and gone on the nuclear waste front since GroundWork last covered the topic in issue #3. The "low level" radioactive waste [LLRW] landfill at Barnwell, South Carolina, closed in June 1994 to all nuclear waste generators but those in the Southeast Compact [see map]. In 1996 the Barnwell dump will close completely. The only other LLRW dump now operating is at Richland, Washington; it accepts waste only from the Northwest and Rocky Mountain Compacts. Generators in all other states are now storing their waste on site.

Community resistance has continued to prevent the siting of unlined, shallow LLRW landfills in various states and compacts of states.

**Texas**  
The Border Coalition Against Radioactive

Dumping formed to resist the siting of a LLRW dump 12 miles from the Rio Grande in Sierra Blanca, Texas. The coalition includes environmental and social action groups in both the U.S. and Mexico.

In 1994 the State of Texas agreed to form a compact with Maine and Vermont. Congress must approve all compact proposals. The Border Coalition generated so many phone calls and letters against bringing out-of-state waste into Texas that the bill supporting the compact was killed in a Congressional committee. The bill is expected to be introduced again, next time with a Texas Congressman to champion it.

Claims of environmental racism at the dump have carried some weight ever since President Clinton's presidential directive in February 1994 directed the EPA and state agencies to address the disproportionate impact on minority people of siting polluting industries. Sierra Blanca, which is 2/3 Latino, is already home of the largest sewage sludge dump in the country.

Alert Citizens for Environmental Safety [ACES] in nearby El Paso will file a civil rights complaint with the EPA and the U.S. Commission for Civil Rights in the first half of 1995. They generate and

springs, surface streams, and fractures in subsurface rock at the site.

Meanwhile, waste generators are preparing to store on site when Barnwell closes, and activists continue to gather and disseminate information on transportation of nuclear waste and other issues. Info: *Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League*, 910-982-2691.

## New York

Activists long ago convinced New York not to belong to any compact, so that the state could exercise more control over nuclear waste within its borders.

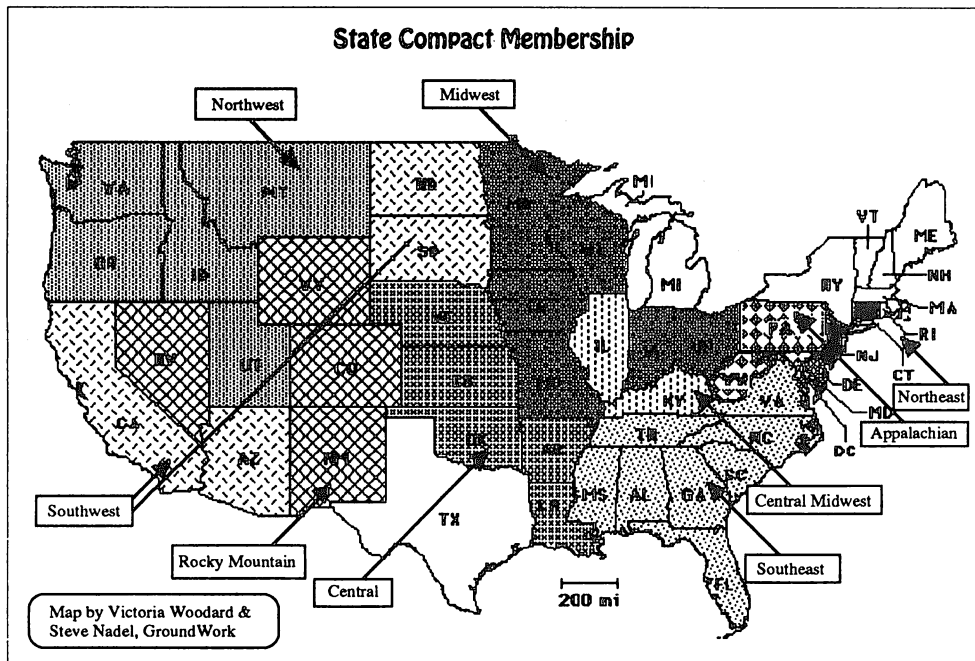
Activists put together a bill that would separate medical waste from reactor waste, accept responsibility for medical waste only, store short-lived medical isotopes on-site, send long-lived medical isotopes off-site to an already contaminated area, and require generators to prove they were trying to minimize and store waste before sending it off-site. This bill almost passed. It was defeated only because generators wanted back the money they had invested in trying to site a LLRW

dump in New York.

In early July 1994 the Speaker of the New York State Assembly and then-Governor Mario Cuomo proposed that LLRW be stored at New York's nuclear power plants. The State Senate walked away from negotiations, so that option was not pursued.

Since Barnwell closed to out-of-compact waste in June 1994, generators in New York have been storing waste on-site without complaining. Unfortunately, the absence of any legislation means New York has no regulations for on-site storage. Only shipment of radioactive waste in and

*continued on next page*



send out literature, and are concentrating on educating the new legislature and Governor Bush. They are also raising money for legal representation at a public hearing about the dump that will be held next summer. Info: ACES, 915-544-8380.

## North Carolina

North Carolina is the next proposed host state for the Southeast Compact. A site in Wake County about 25 miles southwest of Raleigh has been selected for the proposed dump. Licensing of the dump has been delayed because state regulators want more information about the site. The dump operator must spend several million dollars more to investigate the many



## Low Level Waste:

*continued from preceding page*

out of hospitals is regulated. There is no requirement to report the amount of waste generated or to track where it's ultimately disposed.

Activists will continue pressing for passage of their bill, and of a new bill that would prohibit any new nuclear reactors. They consider the latter a good vehicle for educating legislators about the hazards of currently operating reactors. If it passes, they'll introduce a bill to shut down the existing reactors. Info: *Don't Waste New York*, 607-863-3872.

### California

California is the host state for the Southwest Compact. The proposed LLRW dump location is in Ward Valley near Needles, 18 miles from the Colorado River. The site is administered by the federal Department of the Interior, which must transfer it to the State of California before the dump can be constructed.

Activists successfully blocked the proposed dump in court, by bringing lawsuits under the Endangered Species Act and national and state Environmental Protection Acts. Ward Valley is prime habitat for the desert tortoise, a threatened species.

At this point the Department of the Interior must give activists 30 days notice before transferring the land to California. The Department can't transfer the land until its U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service issues a new biological opinion on impacts of the project on the desert tortoise and other wildlife. The Fish and Wildlife report is expected in summer 1995.

The judge in the Environmental Protection Act case in Los Angeles felt the project should not go forward if there is any question that radionuclides might get into the Colorado River, which is a source of drinking water for L.A., San Diego, Phoenix, and cities in Mexico. Therefore he suspended the license that the state Department of Health and Safety [DHS] had issued for the dump. DHS appealed the decision.

Three scientists from the U.S. Geological Survey issued a report finding that radionuclides could leach from the dump and find their way into the river. After Senator Barbara Boxer [D-CA] accused Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt of covering up that report in October 1993,

would not want to veto. Such legislation would nullify both lawsuits. Activists will fight the bill by mobilizing a national and international postcard and phone call campaign, as they did last summer. They also are looking into a direct action campaign. Info: *BAN Waste*, 415-868-



*Activists gather around a test well at Ward Valley, California, as a USGS geologist explains how radionuclides could get into the Colorado River from the proposed LLRW landfill on the site. Photo by Rachel Johnson.*

Babbitt asked a National Academy of Science [NAS] panel to review it and other data on Ward Valley. The NAS report was to be released in 12/94, but was delayed.

Both DHS and the Fish and Wildlife Service are expected to rely on the NAS report in their own studies of the impact of the dump. Activists expect the NAS panel to find that the dump will have no significant impact, because many panel members have ties to the nuclear industry. They also expect a minority report opposing the dump to be written. They will publicize the minority report.

Meanwhile, Senator Bennett Johnston [D-LA] is expected to re-introduce legislation that he introduced in summer 1994. The bill would immediately transfer the land in Ward Valley to DHS for construction of a National LLRW dump. The bill is expected to be attached to other legislation that President Clinton

1692.

### Pennsylvania

The siting process in Pennsylvania progressed more slowly than in other states because community organizers actively participated in it all along. First, activists convinced Pennsylvania to withdraw from the Northeast Compact and form the smaller Appalachian Compact. Next they succeeded in disqualifying state and county lands within Pennsylvania (including game lands) from consideration for a dump. There isn't much federal or Native American land in the state.

Pennsylvania is the primary nuclear waste generator in the Appalachian Compact, with nine operating nuclear power plants. The compact agreement requires Pennsylvania to have a LLRW dump for as long as it belongs to the compact.

Chem Nuclear was selected to run the

# Lookin' for a Home



Appalachian Compact dump. In the first stage of the siting process they disqualified 75% of the state for a dump for various reasons, including geology, water, agricultural use, security, etc.

For the next stage of the siting process Chem Nuclear is using two approaches. First, they're looking for a volunteer community within the 25% of the state that was not disqualified. The volunteer must be a municipality; it could even be an urban area with an industrial site. Meanwhile, in case no community volunteers, Chem Nuclear plans to announce 50 to 100 possible sites by late March 1995. Within two months after that, they'll whittle down the list to six to ten sites. Their evaluation will be behind closed doors. If a community volunteers, Chem Nuclear will move it to the top of the list, regardless of whether it's the best site.

Since Barnwell closed, generators in the Appalachian Compact are storing on-site. Unlike some activist groups, the Pennsylvania-based Coalition on Nuclear Power opposes on-site storage because, under a Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) permit, the waste could be buried in a shallow landfill. The Coalition is 25

years old and has halted the construction of over one dozen reactors and a breeder reactor.

The Coalition believes the first step in dealing with nuclear waste is to curtail or halt waste generation. Then the waste must be separated by half-life to allow both short- and long-term protection of the biosphere. Their goal is control of the waste far into the future. Shallow land burial abdicates that control.

Judith Johnsrud from the Coalition says Chem Nuclear has already spent all of the money that compact utilities gave it to characterize a site. The utilities want a national LLRW site; Johnsrud believes the new Congress may designate one. *Contact the Coalition at 814-237-3900.*

## Ohio

No proposed sites have yet been named in Ohio, the host state for the Midwest Compact. Legislation has been introduced into the state legislature to make it easier to site a LLRW dump; it is expected to pass. A state-wide coalition that opposes the dump is planning what to do next.

Although LLRW dumps are advertised as accepting only virtually harmless medical waste, it looks like radioactive

waste from some of the nuclear weapons production sites in Ohio are destined for the Ohio LLRW dump. The gaseous diffusion plant in Portsmouth, Ohio (see GroundWork #4) that formerly enriched uranium for nuclear weapons is now a private corporation making fuel rods for reactors. Therefore its waste is eligible for a commercial LLRW dump. Furthermore, some of the radioactive waste from cleaning up DOE's Nuclear Feed Materials Production Center in Fernald, Ohio, was taken to Portsmouth and therefore can now be considered commercial waste as well!

David Ellison from the Northeast Ohio Greens believes the Portsmouth plant will be selected as the site for the Ohio LLRW dump. *Info: Northeast Ohio Greens, 216-631-0557.*

## Illinois

When hydrogeological problems prevented a LLRW dump from being constructed at the two sites under consideration in Illinois, dump proponents sneaked enabling legislation through the state legislature in the last hours of the

*continued on page 48*

## Anti-Nuke Periodicals

**The Nuclear Monitor.** Bi-weekly news about nuclear reactors and waste, including government policy and grassroots organizing. Subscription for environmental activists \$35/year, from Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS), 1424 16th St NW #601, Washington DC 20036, 202-328-0002, fax 202-462-2183, e-mail: nirsnet@aol.com.

NIRSNET is now free. Set modem protocol to N, 8, 1, call 800-764-6477, and read NRC minutes and papers, *Nuclear Monitor* articles, and more.

**GroundWork.** A primary resource for nuclear waste issues nationwide, plus first-hand accounts of anti-nuclear direct actions. Photos, maps, and detailed reports in every issue. Please subscribe! See back inside cover.

**Nuclear Guardianship Forum.** Explores the human values and institutions needed to protect life from radioactive materials. Interviews, reports, book reviews, citizen resolutions. Free. Write to 1400 Shattuck Avenue #41, Berkeley CA 94709, 510-524-9971, fax 510-649-9605, e-mail: ngp@igc.apc.org.

**Pathfinder.** Quarterly newsletter of Nukewatch. Activist news from the Great Lakes region, nuclear transport issues, and other related topics. PO Box 2658, Madison WI 53701, 608-767-3023.

**The Nuclear Resister.** Bi-monthly details of anti-nuclear civil disobedience, including where to write people serving time for actions. Subscription \$18 regular, \$13 low income. PO Box 43383, Tucson AZ 85733, 606-323-8697.



**the  
Nuclear  
Resister**

"A Chronicle of Hope"

Since 1980, THE comprehensive source for:

- Peace Prisoner Support
- Action reports and networking for anti-nuclear & anti-war nonviolent direct action.

**Free sample issue on request.**

**\$18 / ten issues**

+ US\$3 in Canada, + US\$10 overseas.  
the Nuclear Resister, P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733

**1945 - 1995**  
**50 years is enough**  
**of the nuclear age -**  
**Support the Resistance!**



# Autos & Gender Inequality

New York-based group targets bias of transportation system

by Karen Overton

While a "woman's place" is no longer restricted to the home, the transportation system does little to help women get anywhere else they may want to go.

## Out of the Kitchen, Into the Car

The U.S. transportation system consistently fails to serve the needs of women, particularly women entering the workforce while still retaining their traditional domestic duties.

Women tend to work closer to home than men, yet their commuting times are often longer because they do not travel in

a straight line between home and work. Trips to school, daycare, the grocery store, and a host of other chores divert women from the standard home-work-home commuting pattern enjoyed by men.

The automobile is viewed as a tool that allows women to fulfill their many obligations. But the automobile is actually an accomplice of a system that burdens women with more responsibility than men.

Most commuter-rail systems use a hub-and-spoke model, ideally suited for trips to and from home and a central business district. Lacking are incentives to bicycle, and flexible van or bus service that links non-work destinations. More importantly, the entire land-use planning process ignores the needs of women. A

reduction in urban sprawl, so that development is clustered around easily-reachable locations, would be an improvement.

Gender also enters into safety issues. Of the 15,609 people injured and the 282 people killed in New York City in 1992, over 80% were victims of male drivers.

Creating a women's transportation agenda will require great energy. Planners must be pushed to integrate women's concerns into their efforts.

But most of all, women themselves must realize that the car is not the answer to their transportation problems.

One group addressing these issues is *Transportation Alternatives*, 92 St. Marks Place, New York, NY 10009, 212-475-4600.

## Critical Mass Reclaims Boston Streets

Critical Mass is a name being shared by bicycle activists in different cities. A number of bicyclists come together on a chosen day to take back the streets, often disrupting traffic and forcing commuters and authorities to become aware of the conditions that bikers face.

Boston's Critical Mass ride is a monthly cycling action that has involved up to ninety cyclists in warm months. According to *Peacework*, a Boston-based American Friends Service Committee magazine, participants ride to reclaim city streets while becoming part of the growing national movement towards Critical Mass, the point at which enough cyclists will be united to raise their collective voice and win safe, calmed roads and bicycling's fair share of the billions of dollars our nation spends subsidizing its auto addiction.

Critical Mass-Boston riders meet the last Friday of each month on Boston City Hall Plaza at 5:30pm, riding 3-5 miles to Cambridge or Jamaica Plain by 7pm.

For more information, call 617-442-0444. The newsletter *Spoke and Word* is available from 59 Armory St #103-A, Roxbury MA 02119.

GroundWork welcomes photos and accounts of Critical Mass and other alternative transportation activities — see contents page for details.

## United Nations Challenges Nukes in World Court



Despite intense lobbying from the U.S., France, the United Kingdom and Germany, the United Nations General Assembly voted in December 1994 to challenge the policies of deterrence being pursued by the world's major nuclear powers.

In a historic vote on the resolution introduced by Indonesia on behalf of the world's 111 non-aligned nations, 78 countries voted to ask the International Court of Justice to decide whether or not the use and threat to use nuclear weapons violates international law. 43 nations voted against the proposal, and 38 abstained.

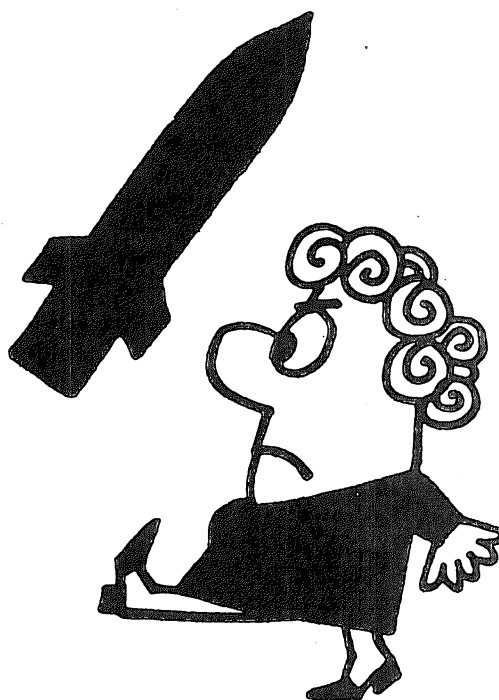
In a related case, first proposed in 1993, the World Health Organization (presently under intense attack by conservatives in the U.S.) challenged nuclear policies on

health and environmental grounds.

"A decision from the World Court that the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons is illegal would place considerable legal, moral and political pressure on nuclear states," said Colin Archer of the International Peace Bureau. "It would encourage them to abandon their outmoded nuclear policies which they themselves are beginning to question."

Written statements are being submitted through June 20, 1995, and a response period will run through September 20, 1995.

For more information, contact the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, 666 Broadway #625, New York NY 10012, 212-674-7790, fax 212-674-6199.



# "Total Objection" to War Taxes, Militarism in Basque Country



By Susan Quinlan

The Basque region of Spain, though better known for its militant separatist movement, is also home to a dynamic anti-militarist movement which includes conscientious "total objection" to both military conscription and military taxation.

In September, I had the good fortune to represent the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee at the Fifth International Conference on War Tax Resistance and Peace Tax Campaigns in Hondarribia, Spain. The three-day conference was attended by about sixty people, including representatives from Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England, Palestine, Iraq, Peru, Canada, and the United States.

In addition to offering a chance for activists to share experiences and perspectives from their different countries, the conference also served as an organizational springboard for the formation of the new Conscience and Peace Tax International, the drafting of an international declaration on the Right of Non-Cooperation with Military Expenditure, and the selection of a recipient of the international war tax redirection campaign for the next two years—a joint contingency fund sponsored by War Resisters' International, Peace Brigades International, and International Fellowship of Reconciliation to mobilize for nonviolent emergency actions in anticipation of international crises.

The Basque people, who have inhabited the region for about 20,000 years, have been colonized by Spain for generations. During the Spanish Civil War, the fascists' bombing of the town of Guernica was a particularly brutal episode in the nation's history. And under Franco's dictatorship, which ended with his death in 1975, even the Basque language was outlawed. Out of this repression, a strong spirit of resistance has blossomed in the Basque country, and is clearly visible in the graffiti and posters which cover the walls throughout the region. In recent years it has given birth to a strong and vibrant anti-militarism which

has spread across Spain itself.

Spain inherited universal military conscription for males from the Franco regime, and the first conscientious objection law was passed in 1984 under the Felipe González government. This law allowed young men to petition for an 18-month alternative service instead of serving the mandatory 12 months in the military. (In 1991 the terms were lowered to 13 months and 9 months respectively.)

## Thousands of Objectors

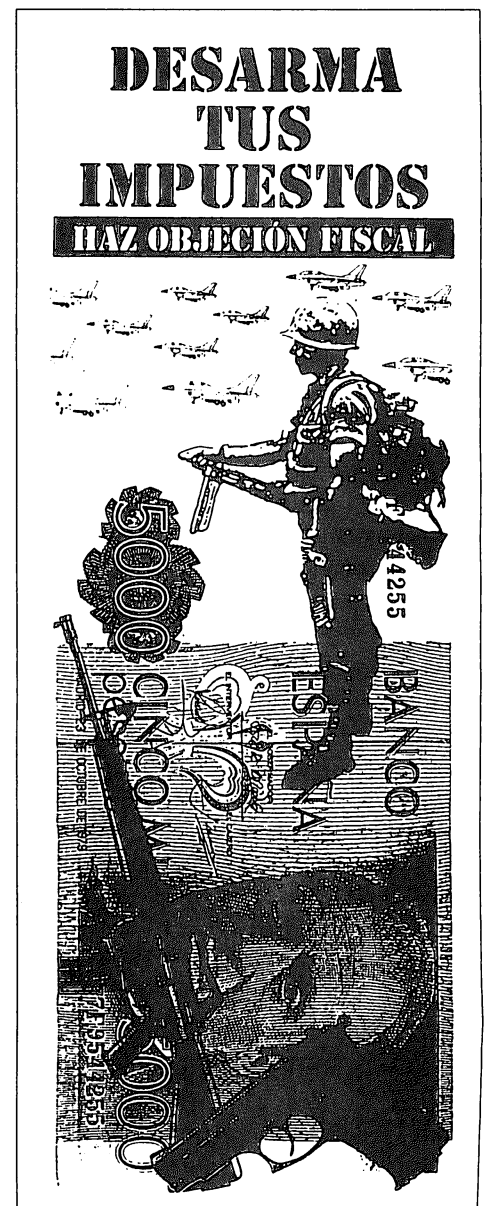
While many men clamored to take advantage of the alternative service option, increasing numbers refused to cooperate with the system at all. 160,000 objectors have been legally recognized since 1989, and another 10,000 have taken the route of total objection, by refusing alternative service. Slowly these young men are being tried by the Spanish courts, and, so far, 186 of them have been given the minimum sentence of two years and four months for non-cooperation.

The Movimiento de Objeción de Conciencia (Conscientious Objection Movement), which was organized in 1977, has led the resistance with strongly anti-militarist politics. It remains a non-sectarian movement which includes representatives of diverse political and religious persuasions. Its approach focuses on the ultimate goal of a total demilitarization of society, with each particular struggle geared toward that goal. In the words of one imprisoned *insumiso* (total objector): "I am anti-military, not anti-soldier. I don't want to go into the military, but I don't want anyone else to go in either. I don't do it for political or religious ideas. It's my conscience, nothing more."

As the Spanish government has responded to this massive pressure by reforming its conscription policies—first allowing alternative service, then lowering the required length of service, and perhaps imminently abolishing mandatory conscription all together—the Conscientious Objection Movement has consistently raised the stakes by keeping their demands one step ahead of the government's concessions. The government has made

many attempts to buy off the movement with half-measures and special "privileges". For example, most *insumisos* are given low-security "grade three" prison sentences which allow them to go to work or school during the day and spend only the night in prison. Many of them refuse to cooperate with the system, forcing the court to sentence them to high security units. The conscientious objectors' unified strategy is to leverage the greatest possible resistance

*continued on page 50*



"Disarm Your Taxes — Do Fiscal Objection (war tax resistance)"



# Traditional Innu Fight

*"What is my message? To let us live the way we have always lived... It's our life, our culture. It would help if the world would try to understand our culture, the importance of the land. We want the world to understand how important this is to us." — Jean Rock, Innu traditionalist*

## Photographs

*background — The Moisie River's health is threatened by the possible creation of diversions by SM-3. The Innu have traveled this river for thousands of years, and depend on it for medical, physical and spiritual health.*

*upper right — protesters erected a barricade over a key bridge. The Innu's green, blue, and white flag, adorned with a snowshoe flanked by two caribou skulls, was planted on the barricade.*

*lower left — Innu and international activists gather outside the courthouse in Sept-Îles in September 1994.*

*photos courtesy of Friends of Nitassinan  
design by George Franklin*

Traditional Innu people and environmental activists are fighting to stop a huge hydro-electric facility being constructed on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence by utility giant Hydro Quebec, with the collusion of the Quebec government and the government-sponsored Innu "band council."

Electricity from the project, called St. Marguerite III (SM-3), is intended to be sold to states and cities in Canada and the United States, but the traditional inhabitants of the land will receive nothing from the deals.

The Innu have inhabited the area since before Jacques Cartier explored and claimed the land for France in the 1500s. The SM-3 project would destroy ancestral hunting, fishing, trapping, and harvesting areas of the Innu people, and damage the habitats of such wildlife as Golden Eagles, Gray Timber Wolves, and Atlantic Salmon.

For the past three years, the traditional Innu have been fighting HQ's plan to flood 450 square kilometers of pine and spruce forest in the St. Marguerite valley and to divert the



# Hydro Quebec Dam



headwaters of the Moisie River, one of the most productive Atlantic Salmon rivers in the world. In addition, 235 square kilometers of forests would be clearcut to make way for high-tension power lines.

The Nitassinan Coalition, a group of traditional Innu who live off of the land, still claim sovereignty over the area, which is known in their language as Nitassinan. No treaty has ever been signed giving up the land.

Through nonviolent struggle, the Innu opposition has brought international attention to the HQ plan. But they have paid a price. Quebec has put many of the residents of the traditional Innu community of Mani-Utenam in jail for disobeying an

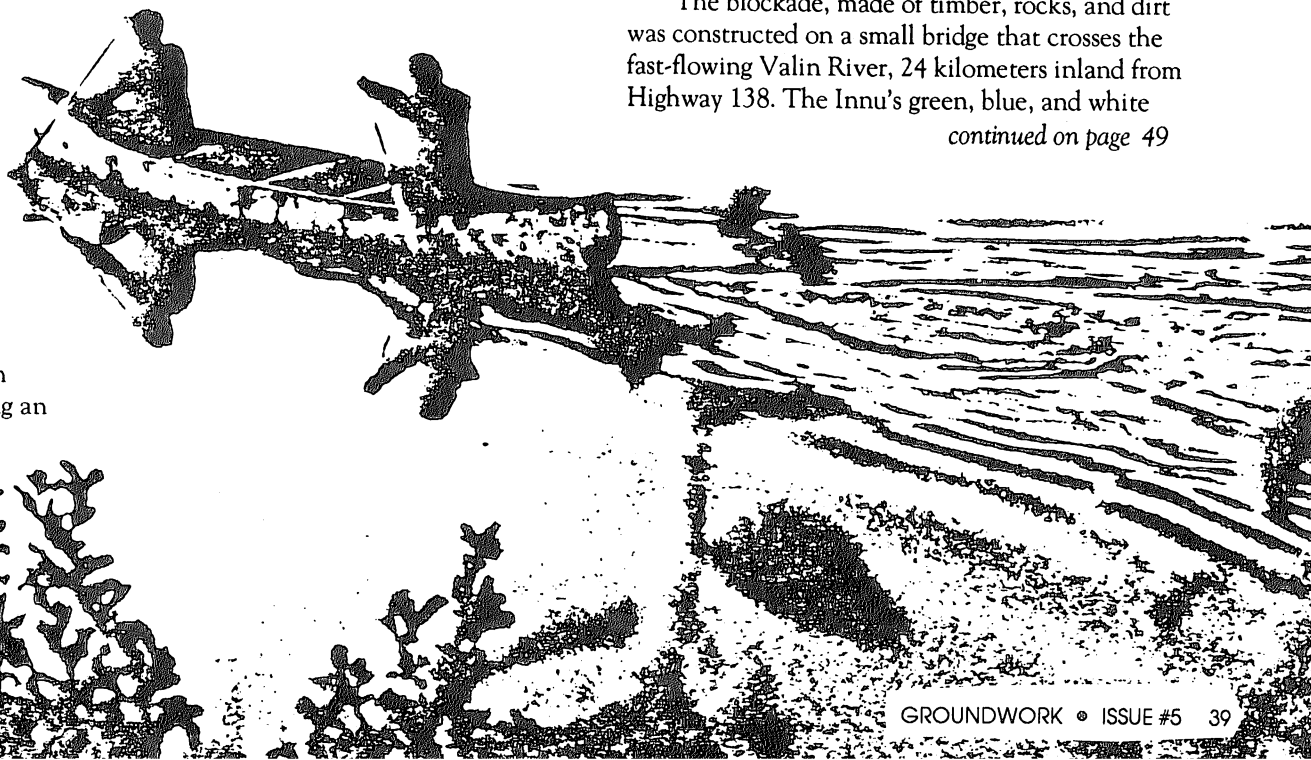
injunction which makes it illegal for them to stand up for their ancestral rights.

## Access Road Blockaded

In late May 1994, Innu protesters and their supporters set up a peace camp and blockade on an access road. The road itself is part of the environmental damage wreaked on the area by HQ, and could be a first step in further "development" of the area by mining and logging industries.

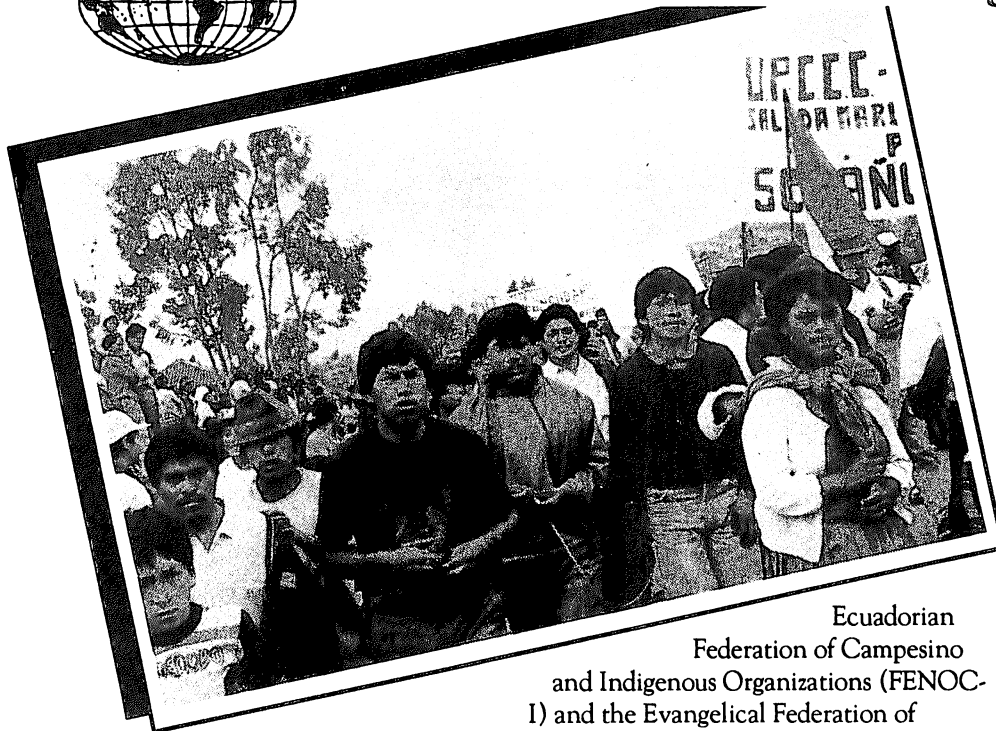
The blockade, made of timber, rocks, and dirt was constructed on a small bridge that crosses the fast-flowing Valin River, 24 kilometers inland from Highway 138. The Innu's green, blue, and white

*continued on page 49*





# Second Indigenous Uprising in



by Robert Andolina

In June 1994, in a mobilization reminiscent of the landmark uprising in 1990, Indigenous organizations in Ecuador blocked the country's roads and highways, in order to prevent implementation of a new "Law for Agricultural Development" enacted by the government as part of its structural adjustment program. For a two week period, commerce throughout Ecuador ground practically to a halt. As with the uprising four years ago, Indigenous organizations paralyzed much of the country, endured military repression, forced the government into negotiations and finally emerged with significant governmental concessions.

Over 3,500 Indigenous communities, campesino and popular organizations mobilized under the leadership of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the National

Ecuadorian Federation of Campesino and Indigenous Organizations (FENOC-I) and the Evangelical Federation of Indigenous Ecuadorians (EFIE). Over two weeks at least five Indigenous activists were killed and many more were hospitalized. An unknown number were jailed.

The new law would have encouraged the disappearance of Indigenous communal lands in order to promote formation of agricultural "enterprises." Indigenous organizations were outraged not only by the law's content but by the undemocratic and unconstitutional methods used by the Social Christian Party to railroad it through congress. CONAIE criticized the politicians for excluding the interests and

participation of Indigenous people in the development of the law.

## Ecuador Paralyzed

For all these reasons CONAIE convened an emergency assembly on June 7th and 8th, 1994 to prepare for a national "Movilización por la Vida" (Mobilization for Life) to protest the law if it were to go into effect. On June 13, after the Agrarian bill was signed into law, Indigenous protesters converged on strategic points, building roadblocks that paralyzed much of the country. Demonstrations in urban areas and occupations of public buildings also took place. Ten provinces in all were heavily affected.

Non-Indigenous campesinos, workers and some urban citizens expressed considerable solidarity for the mobilization. Hector Villamil, President of the Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza (OPIP) noted: "Some campesinos and workers mobilized with us. We see this as a positive and significant change. In the 1992 OPIP March on Quito many campesino-colonists reacted against us."

## Military "State of Mobilization"

A week after the mobilization began, President Durán declared a military "State of Mobilization," and decreed blockaders would receive jail terms. Arrest warrants were issued for CONAIE and other Indigenous leadership, and Indigenous communities were occupied by security forces. Police savagely beat protesters in



## Photographs

upper left and right — mobilization of Indigenous people during the uprising. Photos courtesy of SAIIC.

lower left and right — Quichua women and men. Photos by M. Silverston.

# Ecuador Secures Agricultural Reform



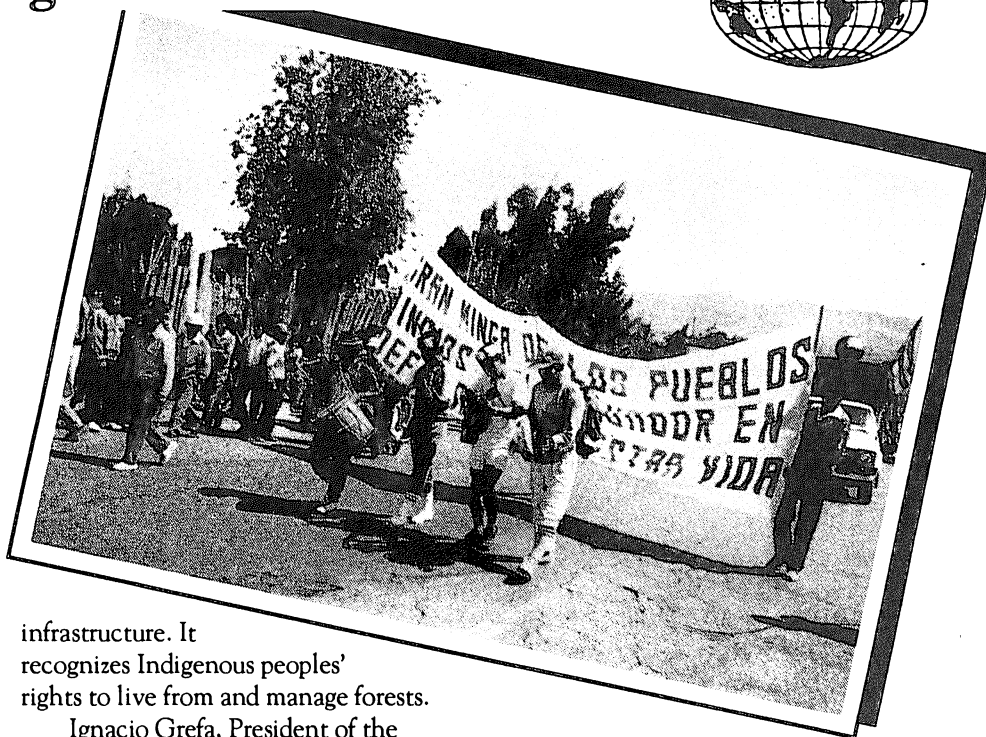
several provinces.

In the worst moment, a mob of Social Christian Party supporters attacked and destroyed the offices of the Provincial Union of Cooperatives and Indigenous Communities of Cañar (UPCCC). One person was killed and thirty-eight injured. Carpentry, library, and computer centers were destroyed, along with the radio station. Indigenous and popular radio stations were shut down or threatened in three other provinces to prevent information on military and para-military violence and human rights violations from being transmitted to the population.

## The Struggle's Results

After considerable national and international pressure, the government agreed to lift the state of mobilization, form a mediation committee and revise the agrarian law. The negotiations resulted in a reformed agrarian law, which went into effect on August 3rd.

The new law permits the maintenance of communitarian, cooperative and small-holder agrarian organizations. The new state agrarian development agency will include two representatives of Indigenous/peasant organizations on its executive council. Public ownership of water will continue. Production of food for internal consumption will be emphasized. The law calls for continued agrarian reform, including land distribution, access to credit, technical assistance and improved



infrastructure. It recognizes Indigenous peoples' rights to live from and manage forests.

Ignacio Grefa, President of the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of Napo (FOIN) commented on the process. "We have won new political space and have fortified the space we earned in the 1990 uprising. In that sense this is just a continuation of the mobilization and of our struggle for the past 500 years. This struggle will continue in the future."

To contribute directly to the rebuilding of the UPCCC community center, please send a cashier's check made out to UPCCC to CONAIE, Av de Los Granados 2553 y 6 de Diciembre Casilla 1717-1235 El Batán,

Quito Ecuador.

This article was excerpted from *Abya Yala News*, published by the South & Meso American Indian Rights Center (SAIIC), PO Box 28703, Oakland CA 94604, 510-834-4263. Thanks to Nilo Cayuqueo, Maria Estrada, and Rosa Alegria.

Robert Andolina is a graduate student in Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, and has volunteered with CONAIE in Quito.

## South and Meso American Indian Rights Center

Formerly called the South and Meso American Indian Information Center, SAIIC works to link Indian peoples of the Americas and to fight for Indigenous rights.

SAIIC publishes *Abya Yala News*. The fall 1994 issue featured news from Chiapas, the Ecuador uprising, the Second Continental Encounter of Indigenous Women, and biodiversity conservation.

Subscriptions are \$15 individual, \$25 non-profits, \$40 institutions, from PO Box 28703, Oakland CA 94604, 510-834-4263.

Also available — *Daughters of Abya Yala*. Contains photos, accounts and testimonies of Indian women, \$9.50ppd.



## Atomic Mirror Pilgrimage

An Interfaith Pilgrimage of Remembrance, Repentance and Renewal

July 14-August 9, 1995

*Pilgrimage is a sacred journey made to a holy place to seek a deeper communion with the Spirit. The result is expanded inner wholeness for the benefit of the community.*

In the summer of 1995, the Year of Nonviolence will culminate in a three-week pilgrimage that will retrace the original route of humanity's first atomic bomb. Pilgrims will travel from New Mexico to Japan in the same three weeks that it took humanity to move from the first nuclear test on July 16, 1945 to the first use of an atomic weapon in war on August 6th of that year.

The events are being sponsored by over twenty groups, including American Friends Service Committee, Alameda County Emergency Services Network, Livermore Conversion Project, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Pax Christi, Tri Valley CAREs, and Ecumenical Peace Institute.

By retracing this route with awareness

and compassion, we can face the shadow of ourselves that we sent into exile when we split the atom. In three weeks we will visit the sites where the bomb was developed, tested, and used, both to learn about our nuclear history and, in an interfaith context, to offer prayers, practice, and rituals of repentance, reconciliation and re-visioning.

Pilgrims may include anyone who feels led to redeem the destructive power of nuclear weapons and to renew our sense of hope. People will be able to participate for various lengths of time and in various ways. An arts group is also forming for these events. We envision that a small group of people will make the entire pilgrimage, and that others may join for events at the four hub sites:

July 14-16	New Mexico
July 21-23	Nevada
July 28-30	San Francisco Bay Area
August 4-9	Hiroshima & Nagasaki

For more information on the Atomic Mirror Pilgrimage, call Gateway Center for Art & Social Change, 510-893-1540.



by Yuji Ichida

## Commonground II

The Struggle for Environmental Justice

March 3-5, 1995, at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida

Commonground II is a statewide conference linking ecological and social justice issues. The conference aims to reflect all aspects of the crisis facing our society and planet — scientific, economic, political, ethical and spiritual.

Sponsored by peace, environmental, social justice, student and church groups, the conference will feature Winona LaDuke, president of the Indigenous Women's Network, as keynote speaker. Panels and workshops are planned.

Conference registration is \$35 for three days (\$15 student/low income), or \$20 for Saturday only. Child care is \$10 per child. Some housing options available.

For information, contact Box 90035, Gainesville FL 32607, 904-468-3295.

## August Desert Witness

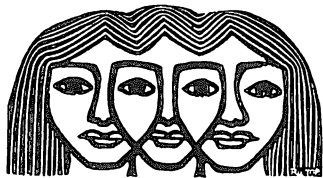
Nevada Desert Experience will host a major interfaith event, August Desert Witness 1995, from August 4-6, to mark the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Events at the University of Las Vegas campus and Nevada Test Site will include vigils, music, and nonviolent direct action.

For more information, contact NDE at 510-261-1005.

## African Women Need Assistance on Reforestation

Oseca Eco Warriors is a growing grassroots, community-based environmental organization. We are working towards a sustainable and socially-equitable future. Our membership is composed of African Women "Eco-Warriors." (Oseca means "women in one local dialect.")

There is an alarming rate of deforestation in southern Africa, particularly in Zambia. Over 860,000 hectares of rainforests are being destroyed every year. A growing number of people have no option but to damage their environment further in the daily struggle to survive. They are



forced into the downward spiral of increasing poverty as they over-exploit the rainforests which they had traditionally managed in a sustainable way.

We have undertaken a major reforestation project of planting trees. But drought has savagely devastated this area, threatening our nurseries. Our rainfed dams have dried up. Our wells have (all

but one) dried up. To survive we need urgently to sink six boreholes, each costing us \$7500 U.S.

We can only continue with the support of people like you, people who are concerned about the world they pass on to the future. A feminine approach to nature is one of caring rather than controlling, of appreciation rather than acquisitiveness. This is available to both men and women.

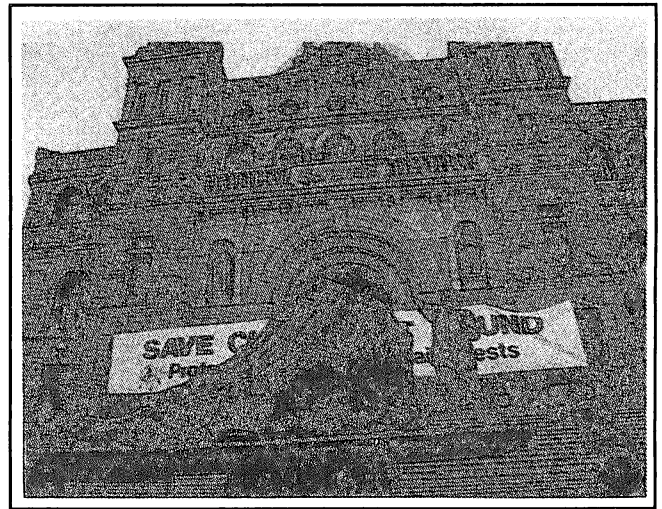
Please help us now! Send donations to Mrs. Janet Howell, M.D. (treasurer), Oseca Eco-Warriors, PO Box 7, Simango Livingstone, Zambia.

## Clayoquot Sound Campaign Continues

The campaign to save ancient rainforests of Clayoquot Sound, where 850 people were arrested in 1993 protests, continues [see *GroundWork* #4]. Two resource publications are available:

**Friends of Clayoquot Sound** has published a 72-page handbook covering history, ecology, corporate depredations, civil disobedience, process, and a lot more. Single copies are \$1-5 donation. Ten or more are 60¢ each, from Box 489, Tofino BC V0R 2Z0, 604-725-4218, fax 604-725-2527.

**Clayoquot — A Heritage Worth Protecting** is a full-color information tabloid with an update on the organizing around Clayoquot, and new scientific evidence of the importance of the rainforest as well as ways to get involved in the campaign. Copies are free to anyone who will distribute them. Donations are also needed to sustain the work. Contact Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 20 Water St, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6B 1A4, 604-683-8220 (fax 604-683-8229), email APC:web:wc2wild



*Stumpy, a four-ton, 390-year old cedar stump, was extracted from a clearcut in 1993, and has logged over 50,000 kilometers in its travels to support the Clayoquot campaign. Here, Stumpy appears at a rally outside the BC legislature.*

## “Grandmother Speaks”

### Bioregional Walks for 1996-1997

“Grandmother Speaks” is a series of walks being planned in different ecological bioregions of what’s commonly called Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. We gather and walk on a pilgrimage to Her — the wise Grandmother, the old Crone — women who have been introduced to Her Mysteries of Birth, Menopause, and/or 45 winters. We gather and walk to celebrate Her in our daily lives, to improve our spiritual, physical, mental and emotional bodies. We gather and walk to share stories along the Path and to learn about healing and survival. We gather and walk to provide a platform to speak of our Sacred Task — to consider the effects of our actions seven generations into the future.

This is an opportunity for all Grandmothers, red, black, white and yellow, to reflect among ourselves, alone and together, and share these perspectives with a world hungry for wisdom.

If this adventure moves you in some way, please join us! Blessed Be!

P.S. — women of all ages are welcome to do support work. However, only elders may walk.

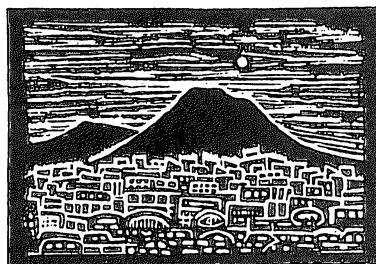
Contact *Grandmother Speaks*, Box 8191, Silver Spring MD 20907, 202-387-2785.

## U.S. Committees of Correspondence Lay Cornerstone for Reunited Left

by Joyce Stoller

In the wake of the collapse of Stalinism in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and social democracy in Western Europe, there is evidence of a socialist regroupment and renewal worldwide, though in some places it is not called socialist.

One step in this unfolding process was the Committees of Correspondence (CoC) founding convention held in Chicago, July 22-24, 1994. The CoC grew out of a split in the U.S. Communist Party in 1992. The initial conference, held in Berkeley in 1992, drew 1300 leftists from different political traditions. The organization evolved out of that meeting, and today there are 1600 members in 49 states. 500 people attended the 1994 convention,



from 30 states and 9 countries.

The convention erected a framework for a coherent organization with bylaws, rules, and elected leadership. It also passed a goals and principles document and a program of action.

In addition, a majority of delegates voted to lay the groundwork for a convergence of all the progressive groups calling for a new political party. This would be a first step in overcoming the balkanization of the American left.

There are presently five groups in the U.S. left vying to be a new party: the Greens, Labor Party Advocates, the National Organization for Women’s 21st Century Party, Campaign for a New Tomorrow, and the New Party. Because we don’t have proportional representation, we will need to unite before any of us have a voice, or a choice.

In the U.S. a new progressive party would probably not call itself “communist” or “socialist” because those words have been anathematized. Our job as revolutionaries is to forge links among the thousands of grassroots groups and affect their convergence into a new party, with a common program of struggle against a common enemy.



# The Strip Mining Handbook

by Mark Squillace

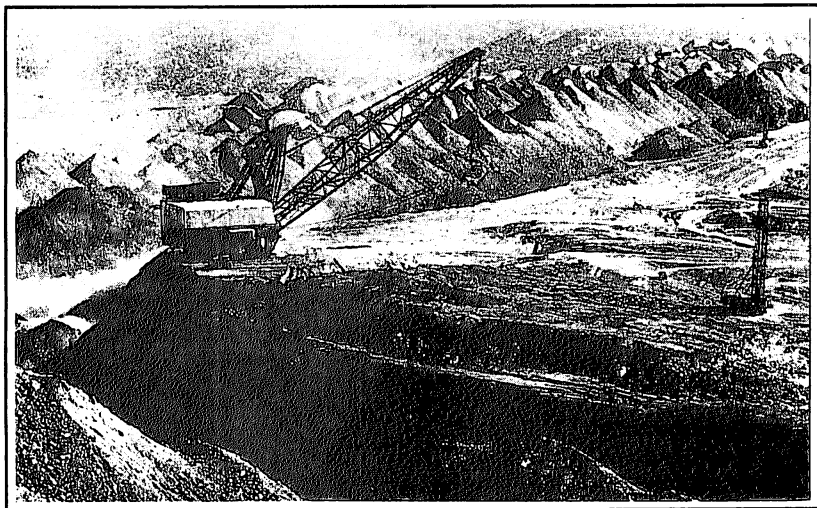
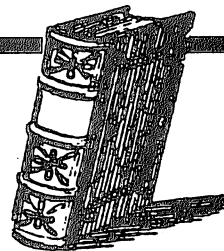
Subtitled "A coalfield citizens' guide to using the law to fight back against the

ravages of strip mining and underground mining," this book grew out of the idea that citizens have the right to monitor and participate in efforts by their government to enforce environmental laws.

It is designed as a primer for citizens who wish to understand how the federal law works and who wish to use that law to ensure that their community does not suffer from abuse caused by surface mining for coal.

Chapters include the Mining Control Act, Citizen Rights, Reviewing Permit Applications, Monitoring a Strip Mine, and Bond Release proceedings. Appendices offer sample forms, checklists, and a glossary of terms. Also includes many excellent photos by Earl Dotter.

From Environmental Policy Institute, Friends of the Earth, 218 D Street SE, Washington DC 20003, 202-544-2600.



Earl Dotter

## Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West

by Rebecca Solnit

"*Savage Dreams* is a beautiful, absorbing, tragic book, and Rebecca Solnit tells this story with the passion and the clarity it deserves."

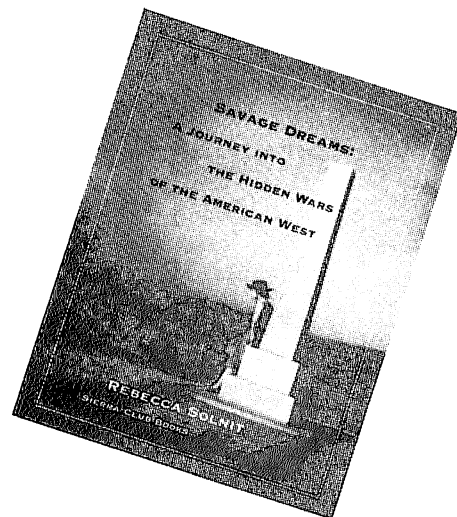
Larry McMurtry

*Savage Dreams* is the hidden story of the American West, covering the violence and the resistance that have accompanied the "settling" of the region. Based on personal experience (as a protester at Nevada Test Site, helping the Dann Sisters defend their Western Shoshone

land from the U.S. government, searching out the violent origins of Yosemite Park), Solnit's book brings out the political aspects of how we relate to the land.

Critic L.A. Kauffman of the San Francisco Weekly called *Savage Dreams* "the product of a stunningly original and expansive imagination... My hands-down favorite book this year, and one of the finest new books I've read in a long time."

Available from Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. Photo by C. Harris.



## Teaching Young Children in Violent Times

by Diane E. Levin

The violence and aggression that children see on television or witness firsthand have an immense and harmful impact on their lives. Yet little is being done by parents or teachers to counteract it.

This book, published in October 1994 by Educators for Social Responsibility, is a guide providing adults with a comprehensive understanding of how violence in society affects the development, learning, and behavior of young children.

The book contains many specific and

innovative strategies for parents and teachers working to counteract the negative effects of violence on children. It illustrates how to infuse violence-prevention and conflict-resolution techniques into children's daily classroom and home lives.

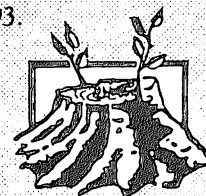
The book also suggests challenging activities to help children feel safe, work through feelings about violence, and learn alternatives to it.

Available from New Society Press, \$16.95 paperback, \$44.95 hardcover (see address, this page).

## New Society Press

Catalog Available

GroundWork reviews many New Society press books. For a complete catalog filled with reviews, excerpts and book news, contact NSP, 4527 Springfield Avenue, Philadelphia PA 19143. For orders, call 1-800-333-9093.



## Preserving the Alaska Rainforest

The Alaska Rainforest Campaign aims to protect the world's largest remaining temperate rainforest from large scale industrial logging. The Alaska Coastal Rainforest stretches for 1000 miles, from Ketchikan in the south to Kodiak in the north. It serves as home to brown and black bears, wolf, lynx, marten, elk, black tailed deer, and its streams are the spawning areas for the planet's last great runs of silver, king, red and pink salmon.

This magnificent ecosystem is threatened by the same profit-at-all-costs, cut-and-run timber liquidators that have ravaged the Pacific Northwest. A 1971 settlement act required Alaska Natives to relinquish all aboriginal land claims, creating a situation where forest land could be sold for cash.

Exxon corporation was required to pay \$900 million in criminal and civil fines following the disastrous Exxon Valdez oil spill. This money could be used to purchase and protect threatened forest areas. So far, two areas have been purchased, but

much more is threatened. The Alaska Rainforest Campaign is working to build grassroots support for such acquisitions and habitat protection.

Contact Alaska Center for the Environment, 519 West 8th Ave #201, Anchorage AK 99501, 907-274-3621.

## By Life's Grace

by Fran Peavey

Written in a lively, conversational style, *By Life's Grace: Musings on the Essence of Social Change* takes an uplifting and balanced approach to current political issues. Fran Peavey is an inventive, resolute, and funny woman whose life is an adventure in social change. For Fran, challenging the status quo is a lifelong process.

Fran Peavey crosses many cultures and generations. She describes the deadly pollution of the Ganges River along with the tremendous grassroots efforts to clean it, the frustrations and revelations of activists during the Persian Gulf War, and the joys and sorrows of her experience with the HIV virus. She is connected to wisdom as old as the Ganges, to humor as playful as her kitten Pebbles, to love as far-reaching as her worldwide network of friends and adversaries.

From New Society Press, \$14.95 paperback, \$39.95 clothbound (see page 45).

## International Peacemaking Teams

From the Philippines to Eastern Europe, popular resistance has created major changes. People around the world are experimenting with powerful and effective nonviolent tools and laying the groundwork for a just and lasting peace.

Organizations like Peace Brigades International and Witness for Peace are stepping into areas of conflict, opening a space for stopping the cycle of violence. By demonstrating the effect of nonviolent peacemaking on a significant scale, we may encourage the United Nations to adopt such methods of conflict resolution instead of sending in armed troops.

Peaceworkers is recruiting and training teams of international volunteers as nonviolent peacemakers.

Peaceworkers welcomes inquiries about participation, including work such as publicity and fundraising. Donations are also urgently needed to support this work.

Contact Peaceworkers, 721 Shrader, San Francisco CA 94117, 415-751-0302 (e-mail: [peaceworkers@igc.apc.org](mailto:peaceworkers@igc.apc.org)).

## Handbook on Prison Activism

edited by Elihu Rosenblatt

"With Justice in Our Eyes..." is a handbook for educators and activists on the crisis in prisons. Published by the



Prison Activist Resource Center, the handbook covers topics such as:

- AIDS in prison
- women in prison
- the death penalty
- political prisoners and POWs
- control units
- examples and suggestions for action
- materials (flyers, leaflets, fact sheets)

Copies of the handbook are \$10-20 sliding scale + \$2 postage/\$5 rush/\$7 Canada. Further donations are also much needed, and tax-deductible.

Contact PARC, PO Box 3201, Berkeley CA 94703, 510-845-8813.

## 500 Años del Pueblo Chicano 500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures

**SPECIAL OFFER  
For GroundWork Readers  
FREE MAILING!**



*500 Years of Chicano History/500 Años del Pueblo Chicano* is a bilingual pictorial history of the Chicano people and contains 240 pages and over 800 pictures. It is edited by Elizabeth Martínez, noted author of books and articles on Latino issues, and published by the SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP). Over 20,000 books have been sold and a new printing is now available. For more information call (505) 247-8832, Ask about the *500 Years* Video (ready in mid-'95).

Paperback Edition—\$16. Hardback Edition—\$35.00

Please send your order and check along with this ad to:  
SouthWest Organizing Project, 211 10th St. SW, Albuquerque, N.M. 87102

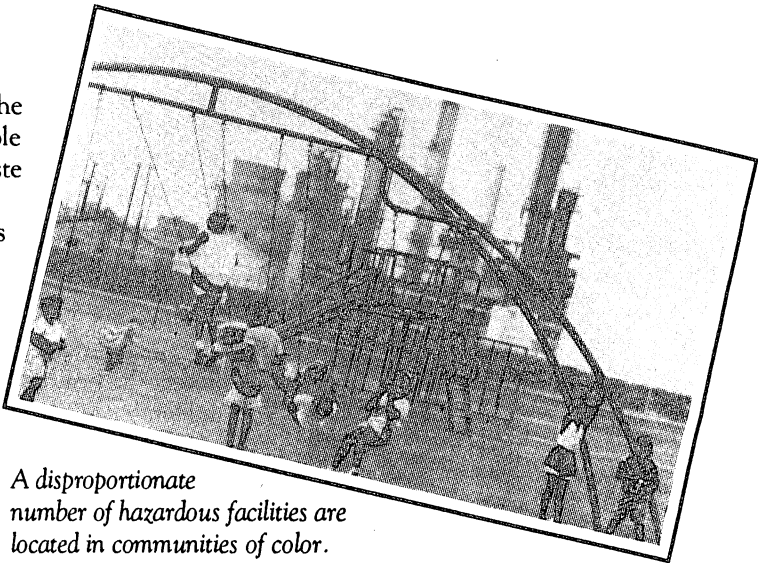
# Toxic Empire

The Political Ecology Group, whose outstanding research on the environmental effects of the Persian Gulf War were an indispensable resource, has produced a 32-page "Action Paper" on the WMX waste management corporation.

WMX, the largest waste management company in the world, is notorious for its assaults on the rights and health of communities worldwide. *Toxic Empire* is a case study of the multi-billion dollar "environment industry" which reveals the corporate role in the creation of the toxics crisis.

Available in Spanish and in English, this action paper is a resource for any group fighting WMX, and also for those working on issues of hazardous waste and environmental justice.

Single copies \$1.50. 5-49 copies, \$1 each. 50-99 are \$.75, 100 or more are \$.50 each. Additional tax-deductible donations are also needed to support PEG's work. Contact the Political Ecology Group, 519 Castro St #111, San Francisco CA 94114, 415-641-7835.



A disproportionate number of hazardous facilities are located in communities of color.  
Photo by Sam Kittner.

## Bioregional Bibliography

The 1994 update of the Turtle Island Bioregional Gathering bibliography is available. The 60-page resource guide has entries for education, mapping, directories, and periodicals. Contact information on eleven newly-designated bioregional information centers is also included.

Available for \$6 (\$7 on kenaf or hemp/ rice straw paper). To order, or for bulk unbound copy discounts, contact Katherine Adam, 205 W. South St, Fayetteville AR 72701, 501-443-4059.

## Pantex Peace Camp in August 1995

The Red River Peace Network hosts its 12th annual Peace Camp near Amarillo, Texas, from August 4-6, 1995. The Peace Farm is located across the highway from the Pantex plant, once the final assembly site for U.S. nuclear warheads and still part of the weapons complex [see *GroundWork* #4]. Call 214-520-2013.

## First Ever Earth Day in Pt. Reyes Station

The first Earth Day Party will be held in Pt. Reyes Station, California. Anyone interested in booths or tables or in helping to organize the event, call 415-663-8636.

## EnviroVideo

EnviroVideo produces environmental and social justice programs for television. The underlying premise is that these issues can best be communicated to large numbers of people through television. EV distributes its programs through cable, broadcast TV, satellite and direct sales.

EnviroVideo offers a catalog of over 50 videotapes at just \$20 each. Bulk discounts available. For more info, contact Box 311, Fort Tilden, NY 11695, 1-800-ECO-TV46

## International Green Bibliography

Michael Ochs has compiled a Bibliography on International Green Parties and Movements, listing over 800 entries from academic, alternative, and mainstream media sources, as an aid to anyone researching the Green movement or interested in the range of coverage available.

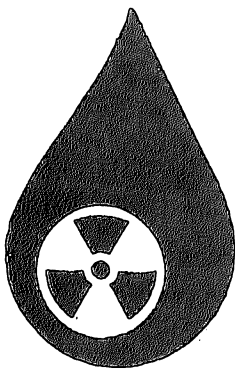
\$7 ppd. Contact J. Michael Ochs, 1633 Scott St., Williamsport PA 17701.

## CHOICEPOINT

### A Video on California's Water & Radioactive Waste

Choicepoint is a 22-minute video-documentary from the Nuclear Democracy Network making connections between attempts to site a radioactive waste dump in California's Ward Valley and the transnational nuclear industry's plan to sell the world a new generation of nuclear power reactors.

Some scientists say that the dump could poison California's water supply. Tons of waste such as Plutonium-239, lethal for 250,000 years, would be put into pits in the sand near the water source for 22 million people. Governor Pete Wilson, who supports the dump, refuses to hold full and fair hearings.



The documentary highlights the dangers, and shows how citizens are mobilizing to stop this deadly scheme and what you can do to help.

To order *Choicepoint*, contact Options 2000 Productions, PO Box 1047, Bolinas CA 94924, 415-868-1900 (fax 868-1901).

## Low Level Rad Waste

*continued from page 35*

1993 session. Under the new law, Illinois communities lost their previously-held veto on siting a LLRW facility; public participation in the siting process is more restricted; there will be no competition for the contractor to build the facility; and the contractor (not the State) will select the site.

The new LLRW Task Group set up by the legislation is top-heavy with State of Illinois department heads and technologists. The Task Group spent 1994 learning about LLRW, holding meetings with the public and with people who previously worked on the siting process, and defining siting criteria. The criteria will be available for public comment in early 1995.

Once criteria are adopted, hydrogeological screening will be used to select candidate sites. The contractor Chem-Nuclear will then study the three finalists in detail and recommend one site for the Task Group to approve. The State anticipates no facility will open before the year 2000.

In the meantime, Illinois' two nuclear power utilities are planning to store their LLRW on-site. They account for 92.5% of the volume and 99.9% of the curie content of LLRW in Illinois. The rest of the LLRW is generated by 354 entities (university research labs, hospitals, industrial and fuel-cycle generators, and government sources). In summer 1994, the Illinois Department of Nuclear Safety unofficially

proposed that these small generators form a co-op to build an interim storage facility. The co-op might be tempted to accept waste from out-of-state to make the facility economically viable.

Early in the siting process, community organizers pushed through legislation forbidding shallow land burial. Thanks to them, in Illinois, LLRW must be contained in a highly engineered structure. In 1994 organizers testified before the Task Group; next they will comment on the new siting criteria. Their first priority is to protect the health and safety of the people and environment of Illinois, no matter how long that takes and whether or not it results in a LLRW perpetual storage facility in the state. Info: Nuclear Energy Information Service, 708-869-7650.

### Nebraska

The last time GroundWork talked to Nebraska activists, the state Department of Environmental Quality [DEQ] had issued an intent to deny a license for a LLRW dump because the selected site was in a wetlands. Since then the proposed dump operator, U.S. Ecology [USE], reduced the size of the site from 320 acres to 110 acres and said it contains no wetlands. USE asked the Army Corps of Engineers to confirm that it contains no wetlands, but the Corps found wetlands. USE is currently pressuring the Corps to change its finding.

USE had until January 1995 to answer DEQ's questions. DEQ's decision on the license is expected in April 1995. The Save Boyd County Association [SBCA] thinks DEQ will issue another intent to deny the license. In that case, there will be hearings for a year, then a final decision.

If USE decides to look elsewhere for a dump site, they will continue to encounter hydrological problems and grassroots resistance. NRC regulations say a LLRW dump can't be above an aquifer. The western 2/3 of Nebraska lies above the massive Ogallala Aquifer. The eastern part of the state is the most populated and has groundwater near the surface. Info: Save Boyd County Association, 402-589-1148.

### Utah

In addition to the existing and proposed public LLRW dumps described above, there is a private LLRW dump 70 miles from Salt Lake City in Clive, Utah. The dump operator, Envirocare, holds a

unique collection of licenses for uranium mine wastes, mixed wastes (wastes that are both hazardous and radioactive), and LLRW. Envirocare uses a rollover machine that empties whole railcar-loads of waste at one time. Construction equipment then piles the waste into 40-foot-high berms and throws a rock cover on top. Despite the fact that groundwater is 5 feet below the surface, the dump is unlined.

After a period of relative freedom in which it accepted waste from any state for less than \$1 per cubic foot (which irritated USE, its major competitor in the west), Envirocare was brought under the authority of the Northwest Compact. (Barnwell charges \$270/cubic foot). If any grassroots group is organizing around this dump, please let GroundWork know.

GroundWork will continue to update the radioactive waste situation. Please send reports, announcements, newsletters, photos, graphics and other info to PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114, 415-255-7623.

**PEACEWORK**  
*Global Thought and Local Action for Nonviolent Social Change*

Peacework magazine, from the American Friends Service Committee in Boston, has published a special issue entitled *Still Seeking Reconciliation: 20 Years After the War in Vietnam*.

The issue is designed as a resource to those wishing to organize observances of the twentieth anniversary of the end of the war.

Contents include a lead article by Noam Chomsky, two current reports from Vietnam, articles from veterans, resource guides, and more.

Single copies are \$2ppd. Ten or more are \$1 each.

### Also Available

*Peacework: Twenty Years of Nonviolent Change*, a 288-page anthology of "Greatest Hits" from the magazine's first two decades, 1972-91.

This volume is just \$12ppd.

Peacework, 2161 Massachusetts Ave.  
Cambridge MA 02140.

## Wake Up California!

### Video Highlights Hazards of Radioactive Dumping

This video documentary is a social action tool for all citizens interested in preventing irresponsible handling of radioactive waste in their communities. The 14-minute video features Joanna Macy, John Gofman and other spokespeople discussing the truth about so-called "low level" waste, and pointing the way toward safer, saner waste management methods.

Produced by Karil Daniels & Pam Drake, Point of View Productions, 2477 Folsom, San Francisco CA 94110, 415-821-0435. \$30ppd (CA residents add \$2.15 tax)

## Native American News

*continued from page 17*

hearings as a sham. The Lil'Wat Nation upstream continue to protect in specific actions their sacred places from desecration and incursions in violation of the Royal Proclamation (1763) of King George III, continue to blockade the logging trucks, continue to challenge the pesticides which are destroying their land and livelihood and habitat.

In Alaska, peoples are concerned about the US Air Force High Frequency Active Auroral Research Program at Gakona and Clear, sold to the public as a way to tap the potential energy of the Aurora Borealis, but which involves "ionospheric modification research." Just ask the people of Point Hope what kind of documents they must uncover to find out what the Nuclear Monitoring Station operated by the Department of Energy — homelands of theirs systematically stolen by U.S. military over the past half century, experimentation with the environment and their lives. Chickaloon and Arctic Village continue their work challenging U.S. Alaska/Corporate policy.

Hawaiian Natives continue their sovereign activities, too. Palau now still under the thumb of the pentagon, whatever happens on Johnston (Kalama) Island now-days is another military secret.

Killing of Native Peoples continues in literally every country in Latin America. In Mexico the Zapatista areas are increasingly enveloped by Mexican military forces. In El Salvador, several negotiators for the revolutionary movement are assassinated as the "peace" process goes forward. In Guatemala, tensions continue. In Peru, tribal peoples are caught in the crossfire. In Brazil, gold miners continue incursions onto tribal land areas, news of massacres occasionally reaching the outside world while intellectuals and military leaders conspire to pursue a "new" policy of "education," stating, "... they [Native Peoples] have the right to be transformed into Brazilian citizens." In Chile, the Mapuche resistance is being tested by evangelical and consumer forces.

In closing, I would like to express that these items are nowhere near comprehensive. Many of you readers will know of some situation in Indian country which is

not referred to on these pages. The purpose here, for those of you who will initiate some sort of action or activity on behalf of these communities, is to at least acquaint you with telephone numbers and addresses to communicate directly with these communities. A further objective would be for all of us to start looking at a bigger picture and to begin to make comparisons and look at similarities in the assault on tribal communities so that collectively we can begin a dialogue to address these issues and dynamics, and to analyze the forces which have shaped these situations. Thank you.

## Traditional Innu

*continued from page 39*

flag, showing a snowshoe flanked by caribou skulls, was planted on the barricade.

After repeated threats, state security forces arrested over twenty people in mid-June, including both traditional Innu and American activist supporters. Protesters were charged with obstruction of "private property," based on a court injunction that Hydro Quebec had obtained after a government-sponsored tribal election (boycotted by many traditional Innu) voted, by the barest of margins, to allow HQ to construct the hydro facility.

At the initiative of the traditional Innu among the arrestees, those arrested all pled guilty last fall. Some of the Innu had prior arrest records from the conflict with HQ, and are expected to be sentenced to jail terms of up to six months in a sentencing hearing in early March.

The half-dozen American supporters arrested were given fines of \$1000. Several have refused to pay the fine, and expect to receive jail sentences of about one month.

## Divide and Conquer

Hydro Quebec and the Quebec government have exploited the fact that the Innu population is split into two communities — an urban community at Uashat, and a traditional community at Mani-Utenam. Many of the traditional people refused to take part in the election, but those who did vote at Mani-Utenam overwhelmingly opposed the project, which threatens their way of life.

The urban population at Uashat approved the agreement, which was obtained by promising about \$30 million in benefits. However, the money will be controlled by HQ, and is part of ongoing ef-

forts by HQ to dispossess the traditional people of their land. After fifty years, the property will belong to HQ, with no further payments to the Innu.

The divisive process of HQ and the government is similar to tactics that the U.S. government has employed in its quest to use Native American lands as nuclear dump sites [see *GroundWork* #3]. By setting up state-sponsored "tribal councils," the appearance of democratic negotiations can be sold to the media and courts.

Hydro Quebec recently announced that it was shelving plans for another hydro project, the Great Whale project [See Brian Tokar's article in *Z magazine*, February 1995]. At least two U.S. states, New York and Vermont, are also considering canceling plans to purchase electricity from HQ's projects. Opponents warn that these cancellations could be only temporary, and may even be a ruse intended to lull the opposition into a false sense of victory.

Meanwhile, plans for the SM-3 project on Innu land are proceeding.

## Sustaining the Opposition

Although Innu protesters and their supporters face heavy fines and jail terms, opponents of SM-3 are not conceding anything. Support has been building across the continent. A student group at New York University has taken up the cause, and Nobel Laureate Rigoberta Menchú sent a letter of support, stating that "a wound in the territory of Nitassinan is a wound in the lungs of our Mother Earth."

Last year, the Vermont-based Native Forest Network organized coordinated protests in a number of cities in the U.S., Canada, and Europe. The protests challenged Hydro Quebec's many destructive projects, which also include the Three Gorges Project in China, which would displace almost a million people.

Organizers say that further direct action is being considered, if the traditional Innu call for it. Meanwhile, legal support and material aid are urgently needed.

**Legal support.** Legal assistance and donations for legal costs are needed immediately, as over twenty people face court appearances in coming months. For more information, contact Friends of Nitassinan, PO Box 484, Somerset MA 02726, 617-442-5519 (Camille) or 802-254-9286 (Colin), or fax 617-524-2047.

**Slide Show.** A slide show and speaking  
*continued on next page*

*continued from preceding page*

ers' tour is being organized. If your group or campus can help sponsor an event, contact the above numbers.

**Information and material aid.** The Native Forest Network is coordinating support for the resistance to SM-3. Donations and material aid are needed. Contact NFN, PO Box 804, Burlington VT 05402, 802-863-0571, fax 802-863-2532.

**Letters to Quebec Premier Parizeau.** To express your views on SM-3 and the Innu land, write Quebec Premier Parizeau, 885 Grand Allee est, Edifice J 3e etage, Quebec PQ G1A 1A2. For a sample letter, contact Native Forest Network above.

*Edited by George Franklin, Ground-Work. Thanks to Lyle Stewart & Robert Fr  chette, Montreal Mirror; Orin Langelles, Native Forest Network; Camille and Danielle, Friends of Nitassinan.*

## Detroit Summer

*continued from page 23*

obligation to my great city.

### 1993

After the success of '92 there was no doubt in the minds of coordinators and participants alike that there would be another Detroit Summer. One of the issues that was immediately decided upon was that the incorporation of youth in programming Detroit Summer was a necessity. As a result, I and other youth were thrust into the world of leadership. We took on responsibilities of organizing, and recruiting youth locally and nationwide. From our biweekly meetings came new ideals of organization and cultural events that would be beneficial to the program. Also from these sessions came the statement of what we really are: Detroit Summer is a multi-cultural, intergenerational, youth program/movement designed to re-build, re-spirit and re-define Detroit from the ground up!

Determined to make '93 bigger and better, we made sure that the word was spread fast over a larger area of the country. Local recruitment was boosted into high gear when radio and television stations offered air time. Steps were also quickly taken to raise money for the next summer.

Our prospective sites had the potential to be even more visible than the first year. As in 1992, a mural was to be paint-

ed. In addition, there would be house repairs, clearing of vacant lots, and the elevation of a community greenhouse. The seeds had been planted, watered, and given ample amounts of sunlight. It was time to see our summer blossom.

In Detroit Summer '93 I was happy to once again see the determination and diversity among the participants. Returning '92 volunteers were as anxious as I was, and the friends they brought along, although they knew little of what to expect, were just as eager to get the new year started. Detroit Summer '93 continued its hard work and put forth more effort to reduce the community, age and racial barriers. At the end of '93, participants and coordinators once again walked away feeling that they had been part of something that could possibly change the way that people see Detroit.

### 1994

As we enter the final stages of Detroit Summer '94, we strive to complete the projects chosen for this year. A volleyball pit is waiting to be filled with sand. A community garden is being encircled with marigolds. Signs are being painted for various sites that lack that splash of color that brightens up a play area. Backstops are being repaired so that a little league team can play in style. For those of us who have been fortunate enough to be a part of the trilogy, we are very pleased that it is possible for such a program to live on. And for those of you that have not yet joined this struggle, don't worry. The saga continues....

### 1995

*For information on Detroit Summer 1995, see the box on page 23, column one.*

*This article was excerpted from The Commitment, the newsletter of Detroit Summer, and was written near the end of the 1994 program.*

## Food Not Bombs

*continued from page 27*

James Church during the winter months.

Food Not Bombs censorship-free radio in the Boston area can be heard at 6:30pm on Friday on WNBR, 88.1 FM. Boston FNB is also planning a Soupstock concert for sometime around May 1st, commemorating fifteen years of free vegetarian meals. For more info, contact FNB, PO Box 9183, Cambridge MA 02139, 617-

864-8786. (Thanks to C.T.)

**Philadelphia.** Food Not Bombs in Philadelphia is sponsoring a weekly food giveaway on Thursdays, 5:30-6:30pm, at the A-Space. A weekly meal is also served there on Sundays at 5:30pm.

Two other chapters in the Philadelphia area are also active. One, in the Kensington area, is serving food and doing a Prevention Point needle exchange. Another FNB group is forming in the 17th & Ridge area.

Any of these groups can be contacted through the A-Space, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Philadelphia PA 19143, or call 215-724-1469. (Thanks to Tim)

**San Francisco, California.** A local judge withdrew a settlement offer on the various charges against FNB activist Keith McHenry (who was arrested at a rally on the steps of the Hall of Justice prior to his last court hearing), and Keith's trial has been rescheduled for February 14th. A support rally will be held at the HOJ at 8am that day.

The third annual Soupstock celebration will be held in San Francisco on April 29th. FNB also needs more volunteers to help with cooking, serving, driving, and other tasks for their free meals. For more info, call SF-FNB, 415-330-5030. (Thanks to Keith & Tom)

**Salem, Oregon.** A new FNB group is forming in Salem. For more information, call 503-315-0924. (Thanks to Sherilyn)

## Total Objection to War Taxes

*continued from page 37*

to militarism.

An important part of that strategy is to integrate everyone possible into the total objection movement. For every young man who refuses conscription, there are three or four supporters who sing a pledge saying that they too are willing to be prosecuted to defend his right to refuse military service. A growing number of these supporters are taking the stance of "fiscal objection", or war tax resistance, to further confront the military. All of these objectors—conscripts, war tax resisters and their supporters—are considered insumisos and make up a spirited, highly principled and powerful movement for total objection to militarism.

*Susan Quinlan is active with Northern California War Tax Resistance in Berkeley.*

## Tokenism

*continued from page 52*

When members of oppressed groups have to choose between individuality and group identity it is a no-win situation that entrenches the monoculture. If a person chooses individuality it becomes extremely difficult to maintain ties to their own community. They look different but act the same as the rest in the organization. If on the other hand, they choose to preserve their cultural identity, they find themselves both isolated in the organization and facing perpetual resistance to their claiming of cultural identity. They eventually leave the organization, leaving behind a monoculture.

### Overcoming Tokenism

To overcome tokenism, we need to create organizational cultures that enable everyone to claim *both* their individual and their cultural integrity. For this reason it is vital to have a number of people from any particular group, or to build alliances with groups rooted in different communities. This makes it clear that everyone from the same group is not the same. It also overcomes much of the isolation that people from oppressed groups feel when they are in a minority position.

People need space and time to gather with others of their own group. When people from a minority group put forward their desire to meet separately, it is met with great resistance by everyone else. Other people feel left out, deprived of the opportunity to get to know those different from themselves. It also invariably brings up feelings that they must be doing something wrong, or people from the minority group would not need to meet by themselves. Yet a caucus creates a context for mutual support for individuals who are likely to be alienated. It creates a safe place to be able to express the sensibilities rooted in their particular cultural experience. Here there is no need to choose between remaining silent or carefully explaining things so as not to provoke hostility or defensiveness—one doesn't have to choose between self and group identity. In a caucus setting, people share the same cultural norms and an unspoken understanding of the day-to-day difficulties faced in the larger organization. They can let down their guard. Spontaneity emerges and with it innovative thinking that the whole organization gains from. It provides

a place in which they don't have to leave their identity at the door and try to fit in. Instead, their difference becomes a source of strength and the particularity of their cultural experience is affirmed and energized. This spills into the organization as a whole—the working atmosphere comes alive for everyone. The more caucuses there are the more vibrant the whole work setting becomes.

To shift into organizational modes that embrace multiple cultural experiences we need to develop processes that enable us to share our wholeness. Our connectedness with one another is strengthened when people share their stories which bring out differing sensibilities and engage openly and completely in creating common goals, values and visions.

---

## Tennessee/Earth First!

*continued from age 29*

spring of 1995, and it is no wonder. The senior resident inspector has said there are still many serious problems at the plant. This facility, in fact, was rated to have the highest probability of a core meltdown accident of any nuclear plant in the U.S. by a 1992 TVA study.

Serious worker harassment problems have resulted in a reluctance on the part of workers to identify safety issues. Many TVA whistleblowers have been interrogated, threatened, fired, and have been the recipients of death threats. In a report reminiscent of the Karen Silkwood story, Newsweek reported a suspicious murder that took place in 1985 when a worker who was complaining about safety issues was shot to death three days after she had escaped injury when her truck was blasted with shotgun bullets.

### A Long and Sordid History

Created in the 1930's by Franklin Roosevelt to bring the magical electricity to impoverished southern Appalachia, TVA did bring jobs and land restoration to a region plagued by floods, soil erosion, and the Great Depression. It built twenty dams in its first 20 years of existence, seeking to "tame" the mighty Tennessee River, and brought eleven coal-fired power plants on line — before embracing nuclear power in the 1960's. Its plans for seventeen reactors make it the leading nuclear proliferator in the country. (Eight reactors have been canceled, in part due to a \$25 billion debt. Five have received operating licenses

but only three are producing.) The projected demand, however, was not only based on the communities settled in the valleys of the green South Appalachian Mountains. Power from TVA projects was used for the secret "Manhattan Project" in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where the first atomic bomb was developed.

TVA's negative impacts on the biosphere are horrendous. Endangered species found in the vicinity of Watts Bar include the bald eagle, the gray bat, the snail darter, and four varieties of mussels. TVA also has management control over 650 miles of the Tennessee River—the fifth largest river system in the U.S. It has dumped an average of 81 tons of herbicide into the river each year since 1962, purportedly to kill water plants which get in the way of recreational boaters and water skiers. There is a temporary ban on these noxious chemicals, but great damage has been done. Another problem stemming from energy production in the Tennessee Valley is air pollution from coal-fired plants.

It has become clear to those of us who participated in the July 11 Watts Bar action that it was a well-chosen target. The plant was not yet fully licensed or loaded with fuel, and the action, a classic non-violent blockade, put Watts Bar on the map at a crucial time. The action also revitalized the anti-nuke movement locally, and Greenpeace made Watts Bar a priority in their nuclear campaign.

Many of those arrested on July 11 are asking for a jury trial and setting the stage for what will no doubt be one of the more interesting cases in Rhea county since the first Monkey Trials.

Leaving Tennessee after participating in this action and doing media work and jail support for two days, I traveled to Massachusetts to visit my family. In Plymouth, 20-foot poles sit prominently around town, holding large loudspeakers to sound a warning if the Pilgrim nuke plant starts to suffer a meltdown. Then what? When will we learn? I think we have learned — we need to teach those in power.

*Support for the legal defense of the protesters can be sent to Watts Bar Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1391, Chattanooga, TN 37401. For more info, see the Earth First! Journal, PO Box 1415, Eugene OR 97440, or contact Katuah Earth First!, PO Box 281, Chattanooga TN 37401, 615-624-3939, or the Center for Global Sustainability, PO Box 1101, Knoxville TN 37916, 615-524-4771.*

# Dynamics of Tokenism

by Margo Adair and Sharon Howell  
of Tools for Change

Today, for the most part, our working relationships are determined by a culture of individualism. Organizations and groups are viewed as collections of individuals, devoid of family, history, and culture. Historically people were expected to leave behind ties to culture, place and heritage in order to enter the middle-class. This trade-off has been resisted by those who have historically been kept out. In response to discrimination people have created cultures affirming their sense of themselves and their collective identity. Part of the strength of these cultures is that they provide people with the capacity to reject the trade-off. No longer willing to "fit in" individuals from oppressed groups are beginning to reshape working life.

We each simultaneously embody individual and cultural experience. For people imbedded in the middle-class, this is a difficult concept to grasp precisely because their culture emphasizes individuality. Everybody stands alone, an individual plucked from any cultural, social, and historical context. In multicultural settings, middle-class acculturated people express this attitude by wanting to be treated as the exception to the history and practice of their group. Men acknowledge sexism, but want to be seen individually as fair,

whites acknowledge racism, but want to be trusted as an individual who has moved beyond it. Few see that *the ability to be seen as an individual, without connection to one's social group, is solely a function of privilege.*

In the larger society, a woman on the side of the road in a broken down car is vulnerable, no matter what her professional status; an African American teenager in a store is followed by a security guard, no matter what his intent; or a person who uses a wheel chair is treated as though she cannot think for herself. When one is used to mistreatment, trust is never a given. In middle-class culture, personal trust is a prerequisite for working together; when shifting to a multicultural atmosphere, expectations need to be adjusted. In diverse settings, trust is something to be earned by the choices and actions of everyday life.

Middle class people who genuinely want others to share their perspectives can never assume that this interest will be perceived or trusted. When people have years of experiencing being devalued within the larger society, a *continual* demonstration of being taken seriously is needed for them to be willing to share their views and contribute fully. Trust grows from shared work; it can never be assumed across boundaries of race, class, gender, or...

Efforts to shift to multicultural processes are often met with two related comments: "Let's just treat everyone as a human being and not get caught up in the things that divide us" or "Let's just treat everyone as an individual." These comments, intended to promote unity, create tokenism instead. Individuals with less social power are seen by those from dominant groups as either representatives of their entire group or as the exceptional individual, not like the rest of "them." People from oppressed groups are frequently asked to characterize the viewpoint of their entire group—as though everyone of the group thinks the same. Because people don't know others from the marginalized group they turn to the lone member and

ask them. For example, a group of administrators ask the only African American in the office, "What do your people think of the situation in Haiti?" Or at a board meeting of a social service organization, turn to the one elder and ask "How will old people feel about this new policy?" Treating them as a representative of an entire marginalized group reduces their presence to little more than a stereotype. Their own individual experiences, skills,

*The sharp distinction between individual identity and cultural integrity which runs through middle class life usually creates a kind of schizophrenia for members of marginalized groups.*

contributions and talents are lost behind the mask of tokenism. If on the other hand, they are treated as the "exceptional" individual of their group, the culture from which they come and the oppression they experience daily are rendered invisible at best, or viewed as exotic and disadvantaged, they are heroes who have managed to leave it behind.

Individuals are embedded in their cultures. The sharp distinction between individual identity and cultural integrity which runs through middle-class life usually creates a kind of schizophrenia for members of marginalized groups. *Either they lose their individuality and become token representatives of their entire culture, or they maintain their individuality and suppress their sense of cultural identity.* Yet for the most part, people from marginalized groups gain identity and pride from their group. Witnessing and being a part of "making a way out of no way," strength, courage and innovation are experienced as deeply entwined with their cultural identity. On the other hand, those from the middle-class have been socialized to disassociate from any group identity and to view groups with suspicion because they are the very thing that stands in the way of advancement. For those from oppressed groups their collective identity provides strength. For those of the middle class it takes it away.

*continued on page 51*

## Tools for Change

This essay is excerpts from the pamphlet "Beyond Tokenism: Democracy at Work," © 1995 by Tools for Change. Also available:

- The Subjective Side of Politics
- From Leadership to Empowerment
- Breaking Old Patterns, Weaving New Ties: Alliance Building

Tools for Change also offers facilitation, mediation, training and consulting services to groups and organizations nationwide.

Pamphlets are \$6 each ppd, from Tools for Change, PO Box 14141-G, San Francisco CA 94114, 1-800-99TOOLS

# GroundWork Counts on Your Support

## Raise funds for your group or project



Order bulk copies of GroundWork and resell them as a fundraiser for your group or project.

We'll send you 10 or more copies for \$1 each. You can resell them for the cover price of \$3 — a great fundraiser for you, and a big help to us in getting GroundWork out to people in your locale.



Send \$1 per copy (\$10 minimum) to GroundWork Distribution, PO Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114.

## How You Can Help

- **Subscribe** — at the Sustaining, Superb or Amazing rates if you can. GroundWork is produced by a volunteer collective. Writers, artists and photographers donate their time. But we can't volunteer the printing bill. We depend on your donations.
- **Take a bundle of magazines and flyers to a conference, gathering, or action.** Call us and we'll ship you a bundle.
- **Take GroundWork to local bookstores.** Show them the list of bookstore distributors below.
- **Distribute sample copies of GroundWork to friends and activists in your area, and ask them to subscribe.** We'll send you a half-dozen free copies to pass around.

For more information, contact GroundWork, 415-255-7623.

## Bookstore Distributors for GroundWork

Armadillo & Co.  
5795 Washington Blvd.  
Culver City, CA 90232  
213-937-7674

Desert Moon Distributors  
1031 Agua Fria  
Santa Fe, NM 87501

Fine Print Distributors, Inc.  
6448 Highway #290 East #B104  
Austin, TX 78723  
512-452-8709

Small Changes  
316 Terry Ave. N.  
Seattle, WA 98109  
206-382-1980

Ubiquity Distributors, Inc.  
607 Degraw St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11217  
718-875-5491

*Distributors in other areas:  
Contact GroundWork if you are  
interested in carrying the  
magazine — (415) 255-7623*



*Want to begin your sub, or a gift subscription, with one of our past issues? Just let us know, and we'll send a copy of that issue too!  
Single copies of back issues also available for \$5 each.*

## We can't publish without your support.

Almost all the work on GroundWork is volunteer. But printing and mailing each issue cost \$5000. We depend on your donations.

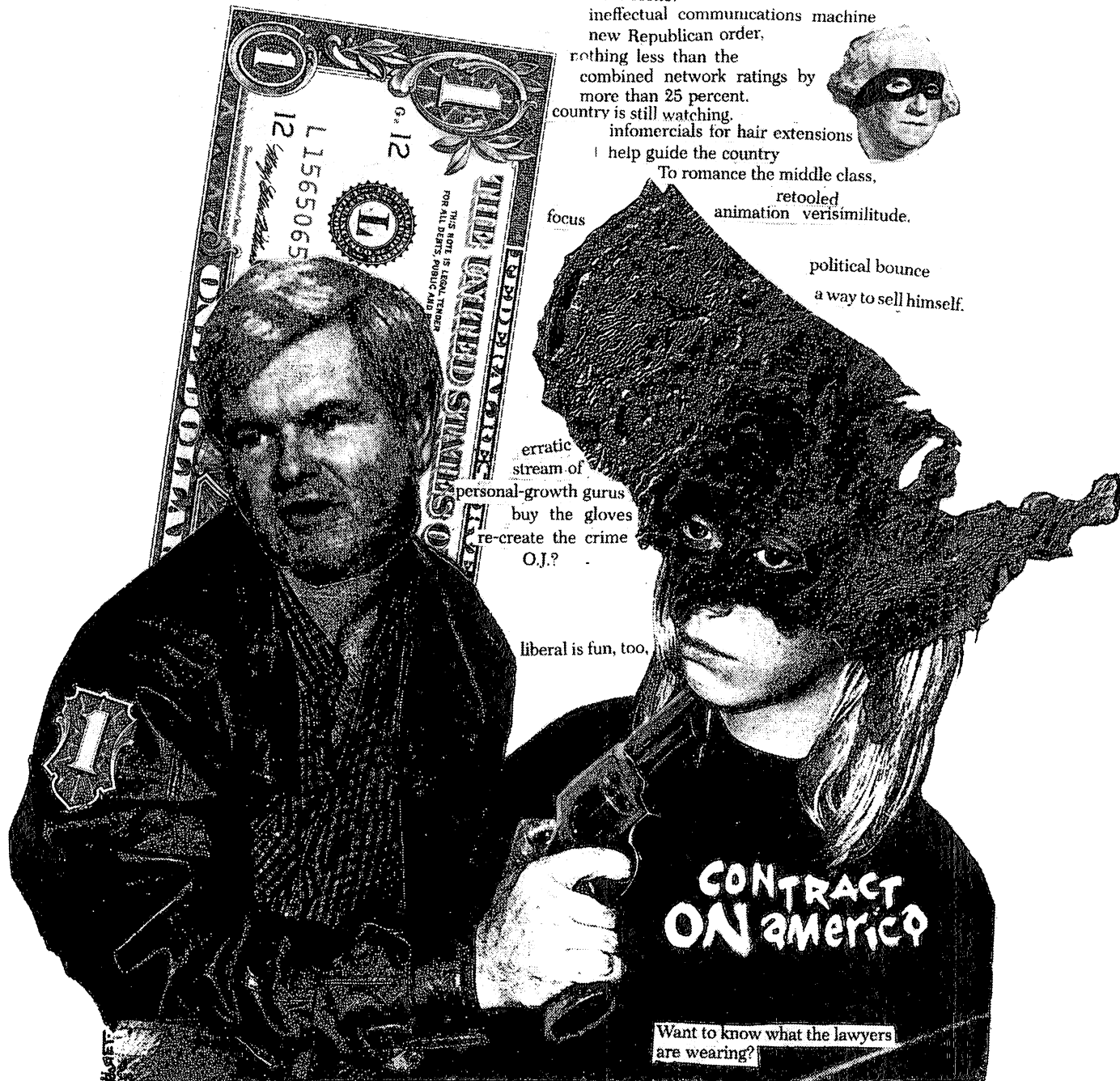
_____ \$20 Subscribing	_____ Send me _____ bulk copies @ \$1 (10+)
_____ \$25-49 Sustaining	_____ I'll distribute sample copies to bookstores, friends, or other activists.
_____ \$50-99 Superb	
_____ \$100+ Amazing	_____ Send a gift sub to the names I've attached, at \$10 apiece.
_____ \$ _____ low-income	

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: GroundWork, PO Box 14141, San Francisco, Ca 94114.  
Make checks payable to Tides Foundation.



Newt sez: thank you for not subscribing to GroundWork  
— yer makin' my work easier!

The Tides Foundation  
GroundWork  
P.O. Box 14141  
San Francisco CA 94114

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
San Francisco CA  
Permit #1893

